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## IS INSANITY ON THE INCREASE?\*

THE subject of this paper is an important question to the ratepayer and the race; it can only be answered by a careful consideration and comparison of published statistics and facts regarding insanity, registered and unregistered, in the past and present. Moreover, if insanity be greatly on the increase, as a superficial glance at the rapid rate of increase of registered cases during the past twenty or thirty years would indicate, the causes for the increase should be apparent in the answers to two questions. (1) Have the conditions required for certification undergone any change and is the standard of sanity continually being raised, so that a larger number of individuals are admitted and detained in asylums? The corollary to this is the question of the rapid increase of provision for housing and maintaining persons of unsound mind. (2) If there be the rapid increase of insanity among the population that the growth of the certified insane with increased provision appears to show, what are the causes of this increase? On the one hand the eugenists would associate it with the tendency of modern civilisation to interfere with natural selection and survival of the fittest whereby poor types are weeded out; and to them the inborn factor is paramount; on the other hand the social reformer would associate the increase with drink, poverty, overcrowding and disease. It is the old question of the relative importance of Nature and Nurture in which is involved the great problem of heredity and the transmission of acquired characters. Are acquired characters transmissible? The eugenist should allow that good raw material may be found in all classes and there is abundance of it spoiled by a bad environment. The social reformer should exercise discrimination between good and bad raw material, and recognise the fundamental teaching of heredity that "like tends to beget like" and that the most he can do by his efforts is to prevent good material being spoilt and bad material being made worse. Education, sanitation, feeding, and the like, can through providing a healthy

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body develop and improve such potential mental energy as the individual possesses; but if there is an inborn failure of sagacity the improved environment cannot bring it out.

#### THE GREAT INCREASE OF REGISTERED INSANITY.

The charts I shall first show to indicate the increase of registered insanity are taken from the Lunacy Commissioners' Report for this year. The first chart shows the total number of insane persons in England and Wales reported to be under care on the 1st of January in each year specified; and of those in the pauper and private classes respectively. There has been a steady rise of all classes since 1864, viz., from 44,795 to 135,661; the paupers have more than trebled in numbers, the private cases have doubled their numbers. (Fig. 1.)

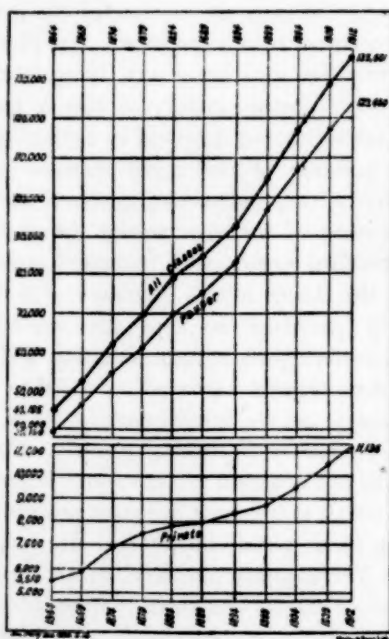


FIGURE 1.

CHART NO. 1. Showing Total number of Insane Persons in England and Wales reported to be under care on the 1st January in each year specified; and of those in the Pauper and Private classes respectively.

The next chart gives the comparative variations in the proportions of the insane in England and Wales (and of the

pauper and private classes respectively) to the total population, 1859 to 1912. It will be observed that the registered insane have increased from 18.7 per 10,000 of all classes in 1859 to 37.1 in 1912. Practically the registered insane per 10,000 of the population have doubled in numbers in fifty years. This does not however necessarily mean that lunacy has doubled in this period in the total population. (Fig. 2.) We notice in this chart that whereas

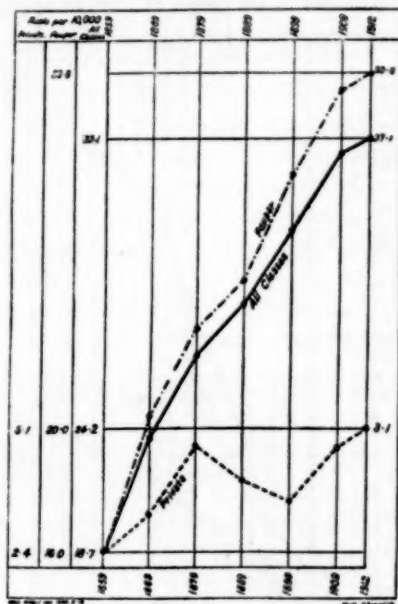


FIGURE 2.

CHART No. 2. Showing comparative variations in the proportion of the insane in England and Wales (and of the Pauper and Private classes respectively), to Total Population, 1859 to 1912.

the pauper class has mounted from 16.0 per 10,000 to 33.8 rather more than double, the private class has only increased from 2.4 per 10,000 to 3.1.

Chart 3 illustrates the rate of insane per cent. of (a) population of England and Wales; (b) of insane community; (c) of the yearly admission to care; (d) of the ratio of insane to the population; and (e) of the ratio of admissions to population 1869-1911-12. Comparing first the annual admissions with the total insane we observe that during the last eight years although the number per 10,000 of the population has risen from 110 to 155.1, the annual admissions have varied between 108 and 110 (the opening of one

or two new large asylums would be sufficient to account for this small variation). When we look at the lower three curves we find that there is a parallelism between the increase of the mean population and the increase of the total insane; but the lowest curve shows that there has been a steady fall in the admissions ratio since 1902 when it attained its maximum. It was at this period that a great increase of housing provision for the insane occurred in London and other parts of the country. (Fig. 3.)

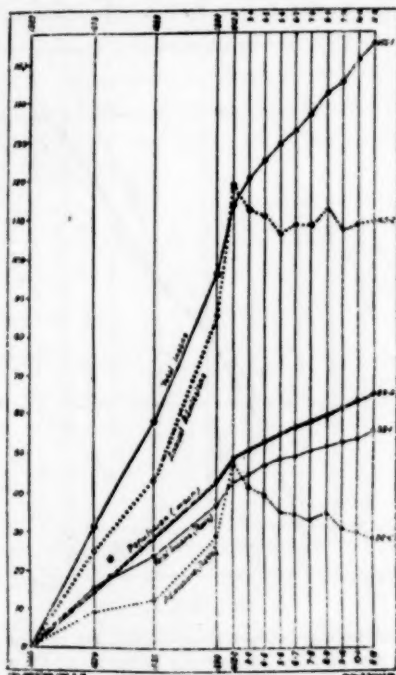


FIGURE 3.

CHART No. 3. To illustrate Rate of Insane per cent. of (a) Population of England and Wales; (b) of Insane Community; (c) of the yearly Admissions to Care; (d) of the Ratio of Insane to Population; and (e) of the Ratio of Admissions to Population 1869 to 1911-12.

In the report the Commissioners allude to the fall in the admission rate; they say it is somewhat encouraging to find that whereas the advance in population between the estimated average of 1902-06 and that of the next quinquennial period 1907-11 is 5.3 per cent., and on the same basis of comparison, the number of insane under care shows an increase of 9.6 per cent.; *there has as regards the numbers admitted to care been no increase at all, but*



*an actual decline.* In their last report they dwelt on the factor of "accumulation" as mainly contributing to the increase, believing that the extent to which it operates in the latter is often not fully appreciated, whilst the facts just cited tend to show that of late years at least, there has been no growth of the numbers of insane persons *admitted* to care, the proportion of which to the total under care has fallen from 26·5 to 20·5 per cent. within the past ten years.

#### REGISTERED INSANITY IN THE COUNTY OF LONDON.

The great increase in the registered insanity in the County of London is the subject which I am especially interested in, as Pathologist to the London County Asylums, for the great increase which is shown in this chart naturally requires explanation from one whose duty it is to investigate the causes of insanity. We observe that in spite of an almost stationary population the increase of registered insanity has gone up by leaps and bounds. In the last twenty years it has risen as this chart shows, from 16,000 to 27,500. (Fig. 4.) In the last twelve years the population of the

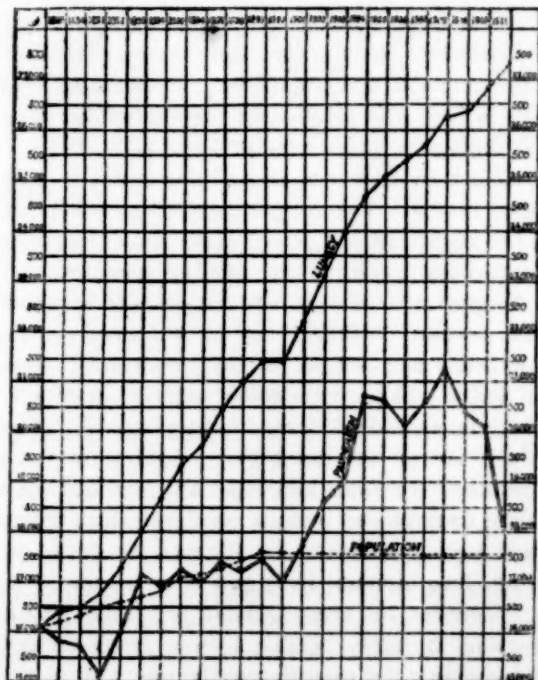


FIGURE 4

county has been stationary, but the registered insanity has increased from 23,500 to 27,500; that is to say, in a stationary population registered lunacy has increased 15 per cent. in twelve years. Although for some years the pauper curve rose with the lunacy curve, yet during the last three years there has been a steady fall; this is doubtless due to the effect of old-age pensions. Now we have to inquire what are the causes which have led to this increase of registered lunacy throughout the country and in London in particular.

#### CAUSES OF INCREASED REGISTRATION AND CONSEQUENT ACCUMULATION IN ASYLUMS.

A special investigation made by the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded in England and Wales disclosed the fact that 0.46 per cent. of the total population were mental defectives and were not at present registered; they are therefore almost as numerous as the registered insane. It has been calculated that if the same percentage holds good for the population of London with its 4,522,961 inhabitants there would be 20,805 unregistered mental defectives. It is quite possible that while registered insanity has increased markedly during the last twenty years, with the provision of increased accommodation, unregistered insanity has diminished; in fact, it is well known that the village idiots and the lower grade imbeciles—who were at large all over the country—have accumulated by detention in asylums and now help to swell the registered insane. Two very numerous classes of individuals who should be registered and placed under some control on account of their anti-social conduct are, firstly, the chronic incurable inebriate, dangerous to himself and society and responsible for a considerable portion of the crimes of violence, consequently a perpetual expense and danger to the community; secondly, the imbecile of feeble will-power, slender sagacity, and lack of moral sense. These latter, indeed, form a large proportion of the chronic inebriates who are on the black list. Again, the feeble-minded swell the ranks of criminals and especially are they found among those who are unemployed because unemployable; many imbecile women, not having sufficient intelligence or desire to earn an honest living, lead immoral lives and have numerous illegitimate children. Moreover, the great army of prostitutes in London and our large cities is partly recruited from feeble-minded women. Although feeble-minded persons may be met with in all grades of society, they are especially and for obvious reasons to be found

among the denizens of the one-roomed tenements of our great cities. Unlike the more intense forms of mental deficiency, these defectives are fertile and procreate freely; seeing that "like tends to beget like" it will be a good thing for the race when those who are judged to be unfit for social privileges are registered and segregated in early life. But great care is necessary not to establish any class prejudice; nor must a judgment of fitness and unfitness be determined without careful consideration of each case. I shall, however, have reason to refer to this matter more fully later; suffice it to say that *the increase of registered insanity may be partly explained by a diminution of unregistered insanity; as asylum accommodation has increased, large numbers of this class of patient suffering with incurable mental defect have been admitted and detained for life in asylums; thus helping materially to accumulation, which, as I have already stated, the Commissioners have referred to as an important cause of the increase of registered insanity.*

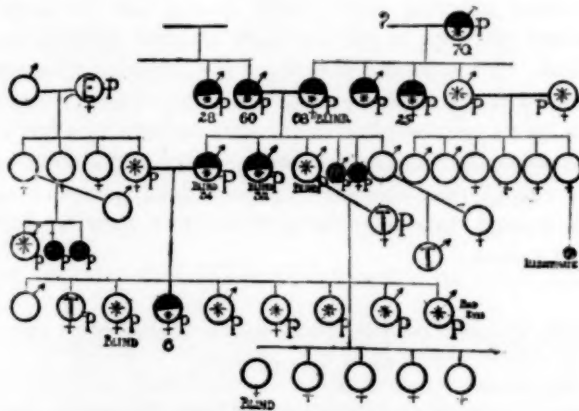


FIGURE 5.

This is a pedigree showing pauperism, insanity, and blindness in four generations (Lidbetter). *Half-black circles, Insanity. P\*, Pauperism. E, Epilepsy. T, Tuberculosis. Figures denote age at time of attack of insanity.*

#### OTHER CAUSES OF INCREASED REGISTRATION.

Another important cause of the increase is that collective responsibility has replaced family responsibility; and the humane treatment and improved housing of the insane under the control of the people's representatives, with all the legal penalties attached

to any cruelty, have removed the objections the public formerly had to put away an insane relative or friend. Seeing that keeping a lunatic out of an asylum is liable to get both practitioner and friends into trouble with the authorities, it follows that in England certification is the indispensable preliminary to treatment. 'Certification means incarceration in an asylum. Consequently everything has been tending towards increase of registration and asylum treatment of the insane. Moreover, it has been asserted that certification by the infirmary doctors is encouraged by the payment of a fee for each case; and the numbers transferred from the infirmaries to the asylums under certificate would diminish if the doctors received a fixed salary for this work. Certainly this system of payment does not tend to diminish registered insanity. Nor does the government payment of 4/- to the Guardians for each patient registered; in fact, while not denying that many senile cases are among the most troublesome to deal with and only fit for asylum treatment, yet the facts seem to indicate that a number of aged persons suffering with senile decay, who formerly were unregistered and kept in the infirmary are now certified and sent to asylums. Thus in the Report of the Asylums Committee of the London County Council, 1910, p. 110, it is stated that as many as 4,762 or 23 per cent. of the inmates of the London County Asylums were suffering from dementia, senile and secondary; this indicates clearly that a number of these aged persons who were formerly treated in the infirmaries have helped to swell the registered insane.

#### OTHER CAUSES OF THE INCREASE OF REGISTERED INSANE BY ACCUMULATION.

Another cause of accumulation has been the steady diminution of discharge of patients as recovered. With the increased housing accommodation the recovery rate has been diminished; this statement is almost paradoxical, but it is the fact that eight years ago, when London accommodation was much more deficient than it is now, it was calculated that 28 per cent. of the recoveries had relapsed within five years and 12 per cent. within one year. In an admirable report of the Clerk of the London County Asylums in 1910, it is stated that out of the large mass of registered lunacy, only 2.39 per cent., according to the medical superintendents, have a favourable prospect of recovery, 5.42 per cent. are doubtful, and as much as 92.19 per cent. are unfavourable.

## DECLINING DEATH RATE OF REGISTERED LUNATICS AND ACCUMULATION.

An important cause of the accumulation of the registered insane is that the pauper insane have a prospect of longer life in asylums than they would outside, where they are liable to suffer from the effects of poverty and its consequent insufficiency of food, light, air, warmth and fatal intercurrent or zymotic disease. Again, the death rate in asylums has diminished considerably with the fall in

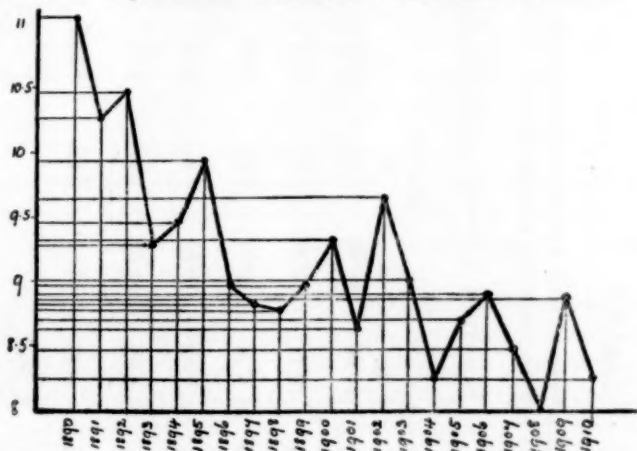


FIGURE 6. Showing percentages of deaths on average daily number of insane on register.

This chart shows the steady fall in the death rate of the L.C.C. Asylums in the last 20 years, from 1890—1910 inclusive.

the death rate outside; also with increased accommodation and improved sanitation of asylums there has been a considerable fall in the death rate from dysentery, tuberculosis, pneumonia, septic and other microbial infective diseases. There is consequently, owing to this declining death rate and diminished discharge rate, a continuous process of silting up with chronic incurable cases of insanity. That this is so is shown by the fact that at the present time nearly one-half of the 20,000 odd inmates of the London County Asylums have been resident in asylums more than ten years. Again, at the end of 1910, no less than 4,238 patients known to have been insane for more than twenty years were in the London Asylums, and in the 1910 report it is stated that such long standing cases have been accumulating during the last four years at rates varying from 125 to 200 per annum.





## HEREDITY AND INSANITY.

In a research by the card system which I have carried out respecting heredity and insanity, I have collected cards referring to 3118 patients who are related or have had relations in the London County Asylums and been discharged or have died. Of these

TABLE II.

Showing Proportion of Deaths and Recoveries amongst "Relative" Cases.

	Discharged.	Transferred.	Died.	Resident.	Total.
Males ... ..	260 = 19'0 per cent.	60 = 4'4 per cent.	400 = 29'2 per cent.	647 = 47'3 per cent.	1367
Females ... ..	365 = 20'8 per cent.	62 = 3'5 per cent.	399 = 22'7 per cent.	925 = 52'8 per cent.	1751
Total ... ..	625 = 20'0 per cent.	122 = 3'9 per cent.	799 = 25'6 per cent.	1572 = 50'4 per cent.	3118

20 per cent. have been discharged, 25'6 per cent. have died, and the remainder 54'4 per cent. still remain in the London County Asylums; and there is a continuous increase in the numbers of related persons resident in our asylums.

I think therefore I have given many and sufficient reasons why the increase of registered insanity does not necessarily mean either an increase of the causes of insanity nor indeed does it reflect a true index of the ratio of insane to sane individuals at the present time as compared with the past. Finally, and in support of this statement, I will refer to a valuable paper by Mr. Noel Humphry, I.S.O., read before the Royal Statistical Society. He affirms from his investigations that there is no proof of the existence of an actual increase in England and Wales, and he concludes on the evidence of several interesting tables drawn from the statistics in the Annual Report of the Lunacy Commissioners, the London Asylums Committee and the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and from the Census returns, that the increase is apparent rather than real for the same reasons that I have given regarding registered London lunacy.

## RELATIONSHIP OF PAUPERISM AND REGISTERED LUNACY.

The chart (Fig. 4) given above exhibits the relationship of registered lunacy, pauperism, and population in the County of London; you cannot fail to be struck with the fact that the population has been stationary for twelve years and, naturally, the rapid increase of registered insanity, which is known insanity, causes grave apprehension, nay even alarm, to the layman, and especially the ratepayer; and not knowing the facts which I have

brought to your notice he readily swallows alarmists' statements made in the newspapers by medical men and laymen. Not only does he think of the increasing cost of housing and maintaining the lunatic population, but believing the increase to be very real he naturally asks what are the causes underlying this increase of insanity which goes on in spite of social reforms and he will ask himself, "Is not the eugenist right in warning us of the dangers of promoting the propagation of the fertile unfit at the expense of the more prudent and consequently relatively less fertile fit?" There is undoubtedly a correlation between the incidence of registered insanity and pauperism. By pauperism I do not mean poverty; for a nation may be poor and the majority of its people may indeed have only a bare subsistence and yet the percentage of insanity may not be high. By pauperism I mean that condition of poverty brought about by the unequal distribution of wealth which is so manifest in our great cities. Here a process of selection takes place whereby those stocks and families with intelligence, energy, and sagacity, who in the past or present time have acquired wealth more or less at the expense of the mentally less favourably endowed form the top layer and more or less grade successively through the professional and middle classes to the smaller tradesmen, artisans, clerks and casual labourers, until finally we come to a sediment of unemployed because unemployable, weak in mind and feeble in body, whether due to inherent deficiency or acquired degeneracy.

#### REGISTERED INSANITY GREATER IN LONDON THAN IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

A comparison of pauper lunacy and total registered lunacy of England and Wales with London shows, as this chart from *London*

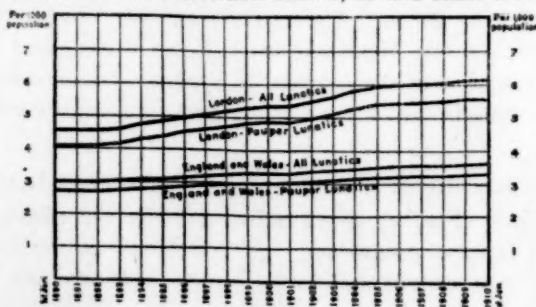


FIGURE 7.

Number of Pauper Lunatics and all Lunatics per 1000 Population on 1st January of each of the years 1890-1910, London and England and Wales compared.

*Statistics* indicates, a greater proportional increase in London, although the population for the last twelve years has been stationary; this may be due to the fact that the housing accommodation for London lunacy has nearly reached its completion; the task will devolve on Greater London in the future.

Another table taken from *London Statistics* shows that relatively to boroughs, cities and towns of England and Wales it will be

TABLE III.

The following table, also taken from volume 21 of *London Statistics*, compares statistics of the pauper lunatics of London on 1st January, 1910, with statistics of several large provincial towns:—

Town.	In county and borough asylums	In county registered hospitals and licensed houses.	In metropolitan district asylums.	Number on 1st January, 1910.				Total.	Total.	Per 1,000 estimated population
				In work-houses.	Per-centage to total.	Residing with relatives and others.	Males.	Females.		
London (Administrative County)	19,563	6,844	250	9	165	11,966	14,856	26,822	5.5	
Birmingham .	1,669	—	146	8.0	17	930	902	1,832	3.3	
Bradford ...	566	—	201	25.9	10	400	377	777	2.6	
Bristol ...	875	—	538	35.1	122	673	862	1,535	4.1	
Cardiff ...	652	—	25	3.1	118	390	405	795	4.1	
Croydon ...	439	—	34	7.2	1	193	281	474	2.9	
Hull ...	589	—	37	5.7	28	297	357	654	2.4	
Leeds ...	1,115	—	171	12.9	37	669	654	1,323	2.7	
Leicester ...	678	—	58	7.6	28	356	408	764	3.1	
Liverpool ...	2,817	—	356	11.2	19	1,410	1,782	3,192	4.2	
Manchester ...	1,751	—	578	24.7	7	1,137	1,199	2,336	3.6	
Newcastle ...	836	—	2	.2	13	488	363	851	3.0	
Nottingham ..	808	—	206	18.4	103	519	598	1,117	4.2	
Salford ...	668	—	254	27.5	3	501	424	925	3.8	
Sheffield ...	1,018	—	253	18.9	65	650	686	1,336	2.8	
West Ham ...	998	—	32	3.0	25	475	580	1,055	3.3	

From this table it appears that the proportion of lunatics to population in London is unduly large.

observed that although London stands very high as regards numbers in asylums; it has relatively few in workhouses and in their own homes or residing with relatives and others. In London old age pensions, we have seen, have had no influence on asylum admissions, whereas it is known that they have led to numbers of aged persons being kept with relatives and friends outside of London and other large cities where the housing of such senile demented is not likely to be a nuisance to others as it would be in a great city.

There are, however, other reasons which help to make London lunacy higher *pro rata* of the population than that of other cities and boroughs. Mr. John Burns was reported recently to have stated that 70 per cent. of the vagrants of this country are at one time of the year in London. Probably a number of such vagrants are mental defectives or degenerates, and become stranded in the metropolis; moreover, this may happen to lunatics or potential lunatics who come to London looking for work. The pauper population contributes a much larger ratio of lunatics per 10,000 of the population to certified insanity than private cases. This may be partially due to the fact that the friends of private patients are usually desirous and generally able to elude registration altogether in many cases, or at least to postpone it, for shorter or longer periods.

I have thought it would be interesting to ascertain first how the various unions and parishes of London compare as regards the number of lunatics severally chargeable to them, and secondly to compare the same with the admissions from the same unions and parishes during the past two years, as this would give an indication of the extent of present and past lunacy in those unions and parishes. Some remarkable and unexpected results occurred which I have not yet had time to investigate fully in relation to the cause. It will be observed that Happy Hampstead has only a ratio of 3 per 1,000 chargeable to it; whereas London West Central—Bloomsbury, Westminster, and Strand—are the highest. I fully expected that with the disappearance of great blocks of slum property in those parishes, especially the Strand, this high ratio would be found to be due to the effects of accumulation owing to the pauperism of the past, but in the admission ratio per thousand during the two years 1910 and 1911 they easily head the list, especially the Strand. A most remarkable fact is the low admission rate of poor but industrious Bethnal Green. It cannot even be said that it is due to the small numbers of inhabitants relatively to other parishes and unions, for St. George's-in-the-East has a smaller population than the W.C. district. A reference to that great work of Charles Booth's, "Life and Labour of the People," is of interest in explaining the high rate of pauper lunacy. This would, however, take too long to dwell upon, and I am at present engaged in ascertaining the occupations of those who were admitted from West Central London. It is the centre of pleasure and of vice, of wealth and of degraded destitution. Woolwich is a good

TABLE IV.

STATEMENT showing the ratio per thousand of all pauper lunatics (including imbeciles) chargeable to unions and parishes in the County of London on the 1st January, 1912, to the population in April, 1911, as ascertained by the census.

Parish or Union.	Population, April, 1911.	Total pauper lunatics including imbeciles.	Ratio per 1,000 of population.
Hampstead ... ..	85,510	253	3'0
Lewisham ... ..	174,296	551	3'1
Wandsworth ... ..	479,195	1,946	4'1
Fulham ... ..	153,325	628	4'1
Paddington ... ..	142,576	604	4'2
Hammersmith ... ..	121,603	524	4'3
Islington ... ..	327,423	1,572	4'8
Woolwich ... ..	127,737	628	4'9
Greenwich ... ..	185,688	962	5'2
St. George's Union ... ..	117,968	628	5'3
Camberwell ... ..	261,357	1,522	5'8
Bethnal Green ... ..	128,282	754	5'9
Hackney ... ..	273,270	1,635	6'0
Kensington ... ..	172,402	1,033	6'0
Mean ratio ... ..	—	—	6'07
Lambeth ... ..	298,126	1,834	6'2
Poplar ... ..	162,449	1,126	6'9
Mile End Old Town ... ..	111,375	730	6'6
St. George-in-the-East .	47,101	316	6'7
St. Marylebone ... ..	118,221	795	6'7
Chelsea ... ..	66,404	462	7'0
Stepney ... ..	53,798	375	7'0
Bermondsey ... ..	125,960	914	7'3
Shoreditch ... ..	111,463	829	7'4
St. Pancras ... ..	218,453	1,874	8'6
Southwark ... ..	191,951	1,735	9'0
Holborn ... ..	112,247	1,114	9'9
Whitechapel ... ..	67,750	685	10'1
West. Central London of Booth { Westminster	25,451	271	10'6
{ Bloomsbury	25,065	265	10'6
{ Strand ...	16,858	219	13'0
County ... ..	—	542	—
Total ... ..	4,503,304	27,326	6'07

TABLE V.

STATEMENT showing the numbers of lunatics (including imbeciles) admitted to the London County Asylums and the Metropolitan Asylums Board's imbecile asylums during the two years 1910 and 1911, chargeable to the various parishes and unions in the County, with the ratio per thousand to the population of the respective parishes at the census of 1911.

Position on list.

Direct admissions	Total lunatics 1st Jan., 1912	Parish or Union	Population April, 1911.	Direct admissions, 1910 and 1911.			Ratio per 1,000 of population.	
				County M.A.B.	Asy.	Asy. Total.	Asy.	Total.
1	12	Bethnal Green ... ..	128,282	103	22	125	1'80	1'97
2	2	Lewisham ... ..	174,296	181	19	200	1'04	1'15
3	1	Hampstead ... ..	85,510	86	17	103	1'01	1'20
4	10	St. George's Union, W.	117,968	125	28	153	1'06	1'29
5	5	Paddington ... ..	142,576	175	18	193	1'23	1'35
6	9	Greenwich ... ..	185,688	240	22	262	1'29	1'41
7	19	St. Marylebone ... ..	118,221	163	13	176	1'38	1'49
8	4	Fulham ... ..	153,325	221	12	233	1'44	1'52
9	8	Woolwich ... ..	127,737	171	25	196	1'34	1'53
10	18	St. George-in-the-East	47,101	52	20	72	1'10	1'53
11	7	Islington ... ..	327,423	388	116	504	1'18	1'54
12	3	Wandsworth ... ..	479,195	635	108	743	1'32	1'55
13	23	Shoreditch ... ..	111,463	155	23	178	1'39	1'60
14	6	Hammersmith ... ..	121,603	177	25	202	1'46	1'66
15	26	Holborn ... ..	112,247	160	26	186	1'42	1'66
16	14	Kensington ... ..	172,402	257	33	290	1'49	1'68
17	11	Camberwell ... ..	261,357	345	98	443	1'32	1'69
—	—	Mean ratio ...	—	—	—	—	1'40	1'73
18	22	Bermondsey ... ..	125,960	168	52	220	1'33	1'75
19	20	Chelsea ... ..	66,404	100	16	116	1'51	1'75
20	17	Mill End Old Town...	111,375	158	51	209	1'42	1'88
21	13	Hackney ... ..	273,270	450	77	527	1'65	1'93
22	21	Stepney ... ..	53,798	73	31	104	1'36	1'93
23	15	Lambeth ... ..	298,126	423	166	589	1'42	1'98
24	25	Southwark ... ..	191,951	327	94	421	1'70	2'19
25	27	Whitechapel ... ..	67,750	114	36	150	1'68	2'21
26	16	Poplar ... ..	162,449	248	124	372	1'53	2'29
27	24	St. Pancras ... ..	218,453	382	166	548	1'75	2'51
28	28	Westminster ... ..	25,451	63	2	65	2'48	2'55
29	29	Bloomsbury ... ..	25,065	75	28	103	2'99	4'11
30	30	Strand ... ..	16,858	73	14	87	4'33	5'16
Totals ...			4,503,304	6,288	1,482	7,770	1'40	1'73



example of a parish in which a large proportion of the population consists of poor but respectable artisans in continuous employment; both its chargeable pauper lunacy and its admission rate stand low as compared with Poplar, Lambeth, and St. Pancras.

#### CAUSES OF INSANITY.

A person is registered as insane when he is of unsound mind and incapable of taking care of himself or dangerous to himself and others. Now unsoundness of mind may own many causes in varied combinations; practically speaking, they may be divided into inborn tendencies or predispositions and acquired causes the result of environment—in other words, Nature and Nurture: what an individual was born with and what has happened to him since birth. Registered insanity includes not only disordered functions of mind—psychoses and dementia (loss of mind), but all those cases of imperfect development or arrest of development, *viz.*, imbecility and idiocy, due to (1) an inborn, *germinal*, *gametic* and therefore hereditary failure of the higher structures of the organ of mind to develop; (2) acquired, which includes also all those cases due to arrest of growth of the brain from such causes as maternal injuries or disease affecting the developing embryo, therefore *congenital*; also those cases of arrest of development of the brain due to injury of the child from prolonged or difficult labour, as well as cases of arrest of mental development from injury or disease of the brain in early life. From a racial and eugenic point of view the first-named are by far the most important because the defect is germinal and therefore transmissible to the offspring. The lowest grade imbeciles and idiots are often sterile, whereas the higher grade imbeciles as a rule are prolific. Now the crux of segregation of feeble-minded imbeciles, who are not at present registered, is the determination of their fitness for social privileges, and it has to be borne in mind that one important reason why such persons should be segregated is to prevent racial degeneration and racial suicide. It is obvious therefore that the first thing necessary in deciding whether an individual should be allowed social privileges is to determine whether his feeble-mindedness is due to a *germinal defect* or not, and if it is, what is the probability of its being transmitted to offspring. If the clinical evidence is in favour of germinal weak-mindedness and therefore heritable, it is necessary to find out whence came the germinal deficiency. What we want to know is, Did the patient come from good stocks or bad stocks? In a large

family one child may be feeble-minded and all the rest sound, perhaps some may possess brilliant mental characters. We may not be able to ascertain any reason for this child being defective. By the laws of heredity, especially Galton's law of ancestral inheritance, a feeble-minded or insane individual coming from sound stocks of civic worth, is much more likely to breed mentally sound children than a feeble-minded or insane individual of a bad stock in which are found a large number of members exhibiting various forms of degeneracy, *e.g.*, insanity, feeble-mindedness, alcoholism, epilepsy, criminality, pauperism, in fact a general low standard, mental and physical, in stem and branches of the family tree. Vide Figs. 8 and 5.

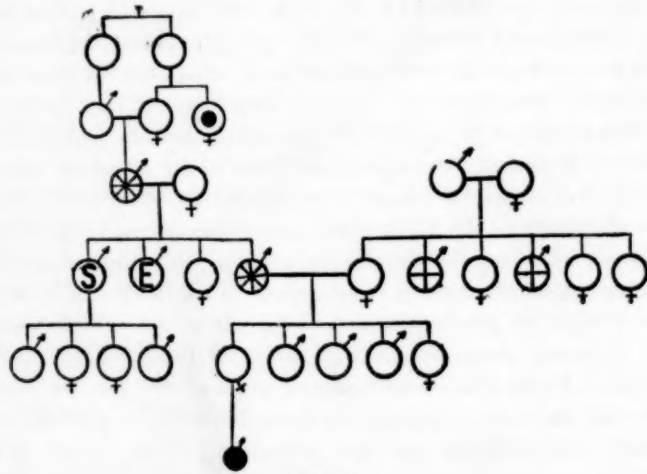


FIGURE 8.

A pedigree illustrating the marriage of first cousins. A genius was the result; he married a healthy woman, and their family consisted of an eldest son, a suicide; a second son, an epileptic; a daughter, healthy, unmarried; and a son, a genius. This man was a genius, but had an extremely well-balanced mind; all his five children are healthy in spite of collateral inheritance on both sides.

Circles with black centre, Physically unsound. Circles in quadrants, Alcoholism. Circles in octants, Genius.

Mental deficiency, whether the defect be germinal or acquired, and due to disease or injury of the developing embryo or child, occurs in all classes of society from the highest to the lowest. But inasmuch as "like tends to beget like" and mental energy and sagacity are all important in the economic struggle for existence,

it follows that the tendency to germinal mental deficiency is most prevalent in the lowest grades of the social scale. Likewise, in respect to mental deficiency due to acquired disease or injury of the developing embryo, the same causes occur in all grades of society; thus as regards congenital syphilis, which is responsible for so much physical and mental deficiency, the lower we sink in the social scale in our investigations, the more are its terrible effects apparent; this is not wholly due to a greater incidence of acquired syphilis in the poor, but to the fact that the disease is more efficiently diagnosed and treated in the better classes. I believe that syphilis is much more prevalent among idle rich men than among the industrious poor. The lower we descend in the social scale, the more however do we find the effects of syphilis among females; and general paralysis of the insane, the essential cause of which is syphilis, becomes more and more common among females; indeed, general paralysis may be regarded as an index of the incidence of acquired syphilis in the population and probably also to some degree a measure of opportunity and efficiency of treatment. Again, the influence of drink, tuberculosis, imperfect nutrition of the mother, upon the developing embryo must play a part in embryonic development of the child. Still the brain in its development is marvellously protected and can call upon all the other tissues of the body to deprive themselves of nutrition, in order that it may grow and develop those innate characters so essential for the preservation of the individual and the species. In fact the brain and the reproductive organs are the master tissues and all others are subservient; thus they are specially protected against malnutrition and from permanent effects of poisonous conditions of the blood unless acted upon for long periods of time.

If insanity is on the increase we should ascertain what are the causes and how they can be prevented. The eugenicist would say that it is mainly a question of inheritance and the problem we have to deal with is one of positive and negative eugenics, viz., to promote an increased birth rate of the mentally fit and cut off the lines of inheritance of the mentally unfit. Now an increase of registered insanity would certainly in time tend to diminish the ratio of insane to sane members of the population, because if they are segregated for longer or shorter periods of time, they are in varying degrees prevented from breeding their like.

Facts seem to show that Nature itself is always trying to end or mend a degenerate stock by a signal tendency to the occurrence

of anticipation in successive generations. I have shown this by a study of relatives in the London County Asylums both statistically exhibited by the following figures, curves, and pedigrees.

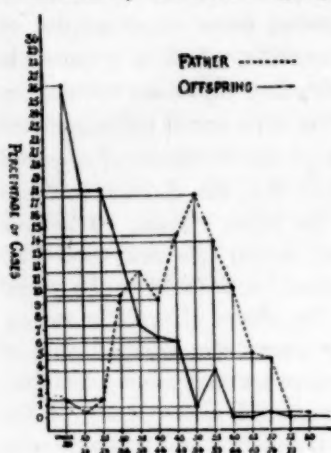


FIGURE 9.

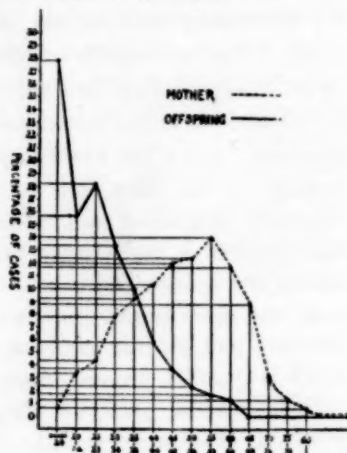


FIGURE 10.

The above figures showing the percentage of cases whose first attack occurred within the given age periods have been compiled from an investigation of the age at the time of first attack in 508 pairs of parent and offspring, from the records of 464 insane parents of 500 insane offspring. The curves clearly show the signal tendency to the occurrence of most of the insanity in the offspring of insane parents at a much earlier age than in the parent, the majority of them being affected before or during the period of adolescence; that is to say, antedating or anticipation is the rule. Nearly 50 per cent. of the insane offspring had their first attack at or before the age of 25, and nearly one-third of these were imbeciles.

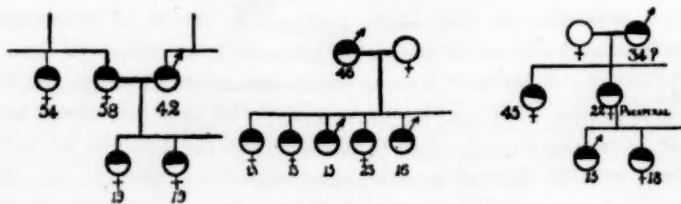


FIGURE 11.

Three pedigrees to illustrate "antedating"; the onset of insanity in the offspring is shown to occur at a much earlier age than in the parents. These pedigrees also illustrate extreme cases of hereditary transmission of the neuropathic taint; as a rule not more than one insane offspring of an insane parent occurs in four or five. The occurrence of insanity in all the children is probably due to the fact that there is a double insane inheritance in all these instances, although it is only shown in one completely, and one partially.

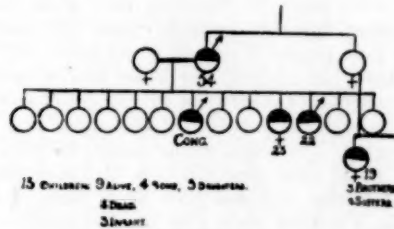


FIGURE 12.

A. B.—, an alien Jew, aged 54 years, was admitted to an asylum for the first time suffering with involuntional melancholia; he has a sister who has not been in an asylum, but, as events turned out, bore the latent seeds of insanity. The man is married to a healthy woman who bore him a large family; the first five are quite healthy, then comes a congenital imbecile epileptic (cong.), then two healthy children, followed by a daughter who becomes insane at twenty-three, then a son insane at twenty-two, and lastly, two children who are up to the present free from any taint. The sister of A. B.— is married, and has a family of ten, seven girls and three boys; one of the females was admitted to the asylum at the age of nineteen, and since this pedigree was constructed a brother of hers has been admitted, aged twenty-four. Half-black circles are insane. This pedigree is instructive; it shows direct and collateral heredity; it also shows remarkably well the signal tendency to the occurrence of insanity at an early age in the children of an insane and potentially insane parent.

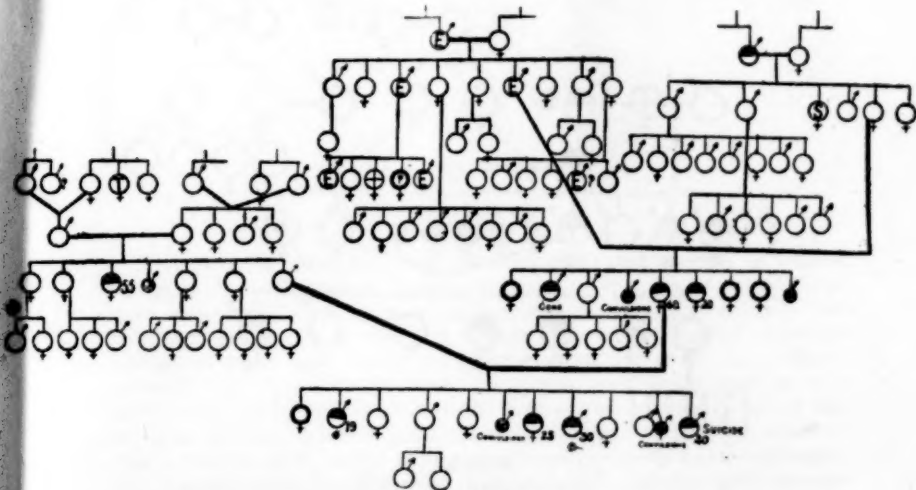


FIGURE 13.

This is a very comprehensive and interesting pedigree obtained for me by Dr. Wilson White, showing the result of marriage of a nearly sound stock in which the temperament was, generally speaking, of the sanguine type; there was only one member insane at fifty-five; she was unmarried;

her four sisters, who were all married, had some healthy grown-up children. The brother himself, perfectly sane and healthy, married a woman descended from stocks in one of which there were many members suffering with epilepsy (E); indeed, her father and her grandfather suffered with it. On the maternal side there was suicide (S) of an aunt and insanity of a grandfather; most of the members of this stock were of a melancholy, brooding temperament. The result of the mating of these two neuropathic stocks is shown. There were nine children, of which three, marked with deep black-rimmed circles, suffered from some form of neurosis, a male congenital imbecile, a healthy male who has five healthy children, a child who died in early life of convulsions, the patient's mother who became insane at the age of forty, a female who became insane at the age of twenty; two females also suffered with some form of neurosis; lastly, a male who died in early infancy. The next generation shows the result of mating this unsound stock with an almost healthy sound stock. There are not as many unsound members as in the last generation, and we observe that the four members that became insane at nineteen, twenty-five, thirty and twenty all had their first attack at a much earlier age than their mother; one of these committed suicide and two were found dead. This pedigree illustrates well the signal tendency to the occurrence of antedating. The sound members of the stock apparently inherited their temperament from the father's side, and the one member that is married has quite healthy children; this looks as if the unsound elements of this degenerate stock had been cleared out by segregation of the unsound germinal determinants, causing intensification of the disease and occurrence of the onset at an early age, thus preventing propagation.

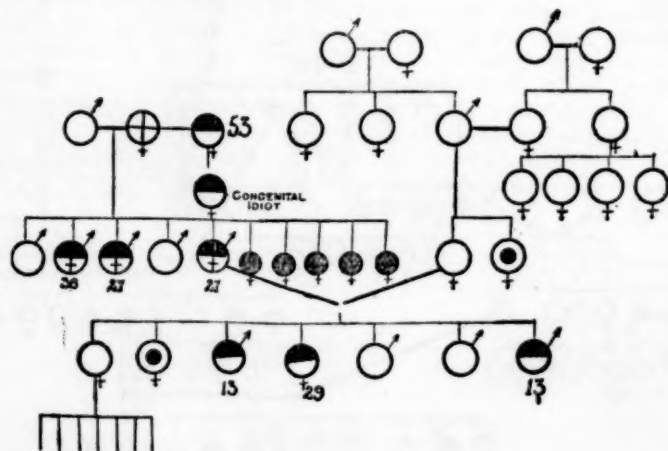


FIGURE 14.

A family of drunken and insane people. The figures with half-black circles are insane; the same with the cross indicates drink and insanity; the circles with only a cross indicate excessive drinking. The two stocks show a marked difference; one side the maternal is practically free from any taint; almost every member of the paternal stock is unsound. The degeneracy commenced with a drunken woman whose sister died,



aged 53 years, in Colney Hatch Asylum, where she had been twenty years; she had a congenital imbecile daughter in Leavesden. The result of mating a sound individual with a drunken woman with insane predisposition is shown in the members of the family born; a son healthy, then two alcoholic sons who were insane at the ages of thirty-six and twenty-seven, then a healthy son, then another alcoholic son, who also was insane at twenty-seven, finally, five daughters who died in early life, probably through the neglect of a drunken mother, indicated by small, shaded, circular figures. One member of this drunken and insane family married into a healthy sound stock. Seven children were the fruit of this marriage; of these, two sons and a daughter were normal, and three were insane, two of them having become insane at the age of thirteen. The clear circle with a black centre indicates bodily disease. I used to give this pedigree as an instance of drink causing insanity, but after the establishment of the card system of relatives I found the notes of the sister of the drunken grandmother; she was an inmate of Colney Hatch for twenty years. It sometimes happens that the one is taken and the other left, and it would have been a benefit to society if the drunken progenitor of this degenerate stock had been taken.

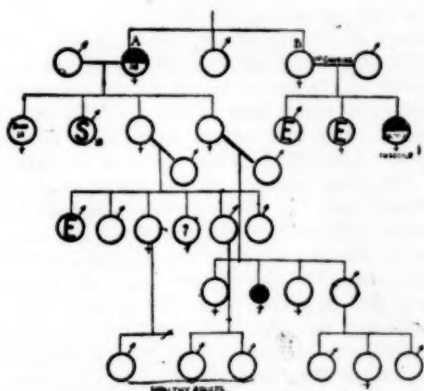


FIGURE 15.

This pedigree shows the result of marriage of first cousins, in both of whom there was a latent neuropathic taint. The family consisted of three individuals, two sisters A and B, and an elder brother, who was married but had no family. B married a first cousin, and although neither of them were insane nor epileptic, yet they had two children epileptic and one a congenital imbecile; this terminated the stock on that side. That there was latent insanity was shown by the result of the marriage and the fact that a sister became insane. A, however, married into a healthy virile stock; she became insane at thirty-eight. Although living many years after she never recovered; the exciting cause was the death of a son by suicide (S) at eighteen. There were two daughters who became mothers of families; the eldest son of one suffered with a masked epilepsy, but no other evidence of neuropathy was shown in this generation. The taint seems to have disappeared, inasmuch as there are healthy, grown-up members of the fourth generation.

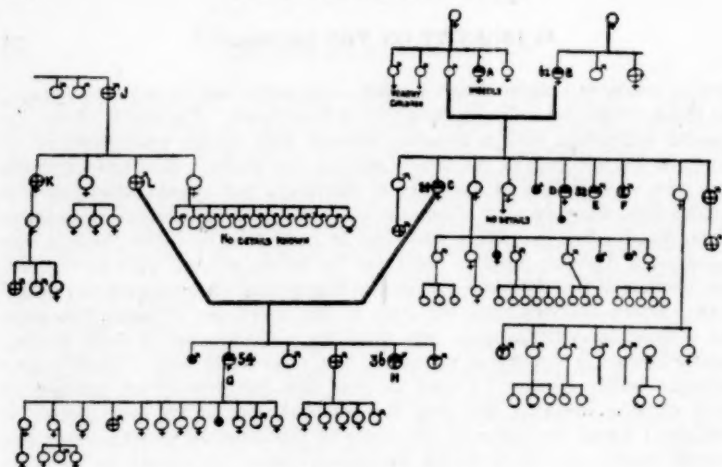


FIGURE 16.

Pedigree showing the apparent elimination of the unsound elements in a stock with dual insane inheritance.

- A. An imbecile but was never put away.
- B. Became insane at the age of 62. Melancholia. In Colney Hatch Asylum for nine months, but eventually died in Caterham Asylum.
- C. Became insane at the age of 24 (St. Luke's Asylum) after the birth of her first child which died in infancy. She was discharged after five months. Her next attack occurred at the age of 38 (when suckling her last child) when she was in Hanwell for twenty months with acute mania. At the age of 43 she was admitted to Colney Hatch and died there seventeen months later.
- D. Very peculiar and eccentric but was never put away. She married twice and by her first husband had one child which died in infancy from convulsions, by her second husband no children. She died between 40 and 50 years. Described by her relatives as insane.
- E. Became insane at the age of 52, acute mania, and died after three days' residence in Hanwell. Had been in feeble health for years and had suffered from lead colic on two occasions.
- F. Epileptic fits from infancy. Admitted to Hanwell Asylum at the age of 28. After seventeen years' residence was transferred to Glamorgan County Asylum.
- G. Became insane at the climacteric period. Admitted to Cane Hill, aged 54 years. Chronic mania. Teetotaler. Her children and grandchildren, with the exception of one son aged 26 who "drinks and bets" are not affected.
- H. Has had delirium tremens. Married an alcoholic now in Islington Infirmary. No children. First certified at the age of 36 and has been in and out of asylums ever since. Has been in Claybury Asylum five times, and other asylums besides. In features he is supposed to resemble his paternal grandfather, but in versatility and humour apparently resembles his maternal grandfather who was a famous clown.
- J—K—L are reported to be alcoholic, but in spite of this they all lived to good ages. J. died at the age of 78; K. is still living, over 70 years of age; and L. died at the age of 74. Longevity is a characteristic of this stock.

If it be true, then, that Nature is always tending to eliminate degenerate stocks, there must be causes at work both by unsuitable mating and environmental conditions which either tend to revive a latent neuropathic tendency of the stocks or to develop by the cumulative effects of an unfavourable environment the first stage of nervous degeneracy in previously healthy stocks. Morel held that irritable nervous weakness may serve as the starting-point of degeneracy of a stock; according to him it is the source of origin of the neuropathic taint, and I now take the opportunity of saying that the term neuropathic is the expressive word to denote a morbid inheritance in a stock which may manifest itself in different members in different forms. Some members of the stock may be

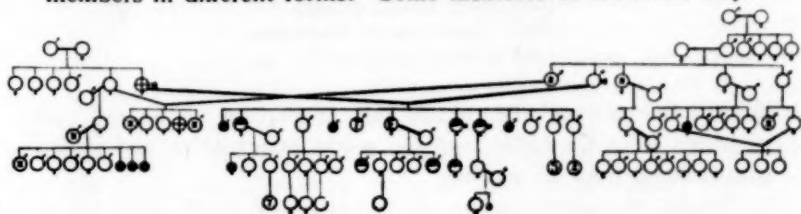


FIGURE 17.

This pedigree is of interest in showing the marriage of two brothers with two sisters. In the first instance the male suffered with heart affection, which was transmitted to the offspring. In the second case the female suffered from cirrhosis of the liver and paraplegia, and was probably alcoholic and syphilitic. The result was three insane and one epileptic offspring. From the first insane daughter the issue was apparently unaffected; but from the next daughter, who had masked epilepsy, of five children born, two were insane. The next two insane daughters each gave birth to an illegitimate child by the same father: one of these children became insane at adolescence, whereas the other has married and has an apparently healthy child. H denotes heart affection. Half-black circles, insanity.

eccentric, or of narrow-minded religious beliefs, or visionaries, or suspicious, brooding and melancholic, or unduly mean, selfish and avaricious, or of ungovernable temper and not therefore actually suffering with a disease, but temperamentally abnormal; others may suffer with such nervous diseases as epilepsy in its slight and graver forms, migraine, hysteria, hypochondriasis, neurasthenia, neuralgias, Graves's disease and diabetes. In others the neuropathic tendency may be revealed by alternating depression and optimism or by an inborn lack of moral sense and feeble will-power. The neuropathic inheritance may show itself in criminality and

suicide or the various forms of insanity. Both history and the study of biographies and pedigrees show that insanity and genius are often found in members of the same stock, and even some of the greatest men who have lived have suffered either with epilepsy or insanity. A neuropathic tendency may then suggest a germinal variation, a mutation or departure from the normal average "the honourable ordinary." What has brought it about? Occasionally the commingling of two germ-plasms may bring into association all the qualities necessary for a great genius, as in Goethe's case, told in his own words:—

" Von Vater hab ich die Statur,  
Des Lebens ernstes Führen,  
Vom Mutterchen die Frohnatur  
Und Lust zu fabulieren."

Which, freely translated, means that he derived his energy and physique from his father and his poetic imagination and joyful temperament from his mother.

Again, two germ-plasms which have been long subjected to poisoned conditions of the blood may undergo a pathological mutation affecting only the functions of that most complex and delicate of all organs—the brain. The poisons may be introduced into the body from without for long periods of time as in the case of chronic alcoholism. The poison may be engendered in the body as the result of the growth of parasitic organisms, *e.g.*, syphilis and tuberculosis; or it may be a result of disorder of the functions of one or more of the glands whose internal secretions are essential for vital activities; or glands like the liver and kidneys which are essential for ridding the body of waste products may fail in the performance of their functions. The blood stream no longer under such conditions maintains its normal relation to the organs of the body; a vicious circle tends to occur in which even the specially protected structures may suffer. The brain itself may immediately or quite early feel the influence of the change in the blood, and the unpleasant symptoms aroused may thus be a protective warning to the intelligent mind, and efforts will be made to avoid the danger if the sensibilities are not blunted by habit and tolerance.

Admit that irritable nervous weakness—neurasthenia—may be the starting-point of an unstable nervous condition in a stock which in successive generations may intensify under a continuance of an unfavourable environment; and admit, as we must, that this unstable nervous condition is a special outcome of modern

civilization and does not exist in a primitive people living a simple mode of existence; then as fast as Nature eliminates unsound elements by ending or mending degenerate stocks, social conditions tending to neurasthenia, or nervous weakness as the term implies, may be produced by a vast number of combinations owning a social cause related to unphysiological modes of existence causing bodily and mental stress. Among the most important are prolonged poisoning of the body including the specially protected structures, the brain and the germ cells, by indulgence in excess of alcohol, syphilis, tubercle, lead, and the drug habits; the nervous exhaustion caused by the poisons of infectious diseases, fever and bodily diseases and the anxiety and mental pain associated therewith. The nervous exhaustion resulting from sexual excesses of all kinds, and from the mental pains arising from the ungratified natural desires of the sexual passion, from the stress of city and town life with its feverish pursuit of gain and pleasure, from competition whether in examination, occupation or business, from the constantly increasing departure from physiological modes of life. The existence of more refined physical and mental enjoyments bringing with them desires and emotions previously hardly known or realised; marriage without parentage and restriction of the birth of offspring, starving the maternal instinct in which is rooted the highest altruistic feelings, developing the neurotic self-regarding temperament which so frequently precedes hysteria and insanity. Then prolonged emotional stress, *e.g.*, grief, especially the grief that "does not speak but whispers the o'er fraught heart to break"—and hatred which rankles in the breast; sudden emotional shocks, *e.g.*, disappointment in love, loss of a dear one, and, too often among the poor, death of the bread-winner and breaking up of the home, are the exciting causes of a mental breakdown. All these depressing conditions acting on the mind produce an injurious reaction in the body, causing sleeplessness, loss of appetite, and failure of the digestive and assimilative processes. Restoration of nerve potential and the nutrition of the whole body may thus become impaired, and a vicious circle produced which by continuous expansion tends to disturb more and more the biochemical equilibrium of the body functions leading to the generation of chemical poisons in the body or to failure of the excretory organs to eliminate poisons which should be cast out of the body. This auto-intoxication reacts upon the sensitive and exhausted brain, causing further mental depression (*melancholia*) or by paralysing highest control to uncontrollable agitation and



excitement (mania). It is obvious therefore that sociological conditions play an important part in the production of insanity; moreover, it shows that certain occupations or no occupation, may predispose to insanity. Nevertheless, nothing to my mind proves the influence of the inborn predisposition more conclusively than the fact that there are individuals born of stocks mentally and physically sound in whom no acquired conditions, *e.g.*, disease, drink, poisons, engendered within the body or taken from without, head injuries, emotional shock, distress, and even profound misery and destitution combined, can render insane. There are others, and these are in most cases derived from a neuropathic stock whose mental equilibrium may be disturbed by any one of these conditions or even without any apparent cause except the physiological conditions appertaining to the functions of the sexual glands at puberty and during adolescence, the puerperium, lactation, and the climacteric period in women. Between these two extremes are all gradations of mentality, from the congenital imbecile, the epileptic, and the insane adolescent dement at one end of the scale, to the potential sound mind and body, that no combination of acquired conditions can render permanently insane.

#### PRACTICAL PROBLEMS.

A great step forward has been made by the discovery of the micro-organism of syphilis; it is now widely recognised that this is the essential cause of the most terrible form of mental disease—general paralysis of the insane. It is possible that early and more efficient treatment by new remedies, together with a blood test, recently introduced, may have a pronounced effect in reducing the numbers of this form of insanity. In the preface to the third volume of the *Archives of Neurology* issued from the Pathological Laboratory of the London County Asylums in 1907, after calling attention to the importance of the study of the causes of insanity before we can hope to treat it, I made the following quotation from an American writer on Psychiatry:—

"Fortunate would be the community in which there was a fully equipped and well-organised psychiatric clinic under the control of a university and dedicated to the solution of such problems. The mere existence of such an institution would indicate that people were as much interested in endeavouring to increase the public sanity as they are in the results of exploration in the uttermost parts of the earth, or in the discovery of a new star."



Shortly after this was published, Dr. Henry Maudsley, a man whose experience and philosophical works on Mind and its Pathology have long entitled him to the foremost place among British alienist-physicians, called upon me and made the offer to give the London County Council £30,000 if they would build a hospital for acute mental diseases with a pathological department for scientific research. There were many difficulties, and at last after four years have lapsed the site has been found and the plans have passed the Commissioners.

In Volume IV of the *Archives*, Dr. Maudsley wrote for me a paper entitled "A mental hospital, its aims and uses." Nothing that I could say can add to the arguments he uses nor so infallibly demonstrate the genuineness of the conviction of this great man, of the necessity of such a hospital as the fact that he was willing during his life to give a large part of his fortune for the purpose. I only hope and trust that he may live to see it, not only built, but in active operation.

The general public should recognise, as they have done in America, the great importance of the study of insanity in its earliest and most curable stage, and the necessity of focussing scientific inquiry and research on mental disease if the physician is no longer to remain satisfied that he cannot minister to a mind diseased. But he can best learn to minister to a mind diseased and to prevent insanity by a study of each case as a biological and sociological problem, in which a neuropathic inheritance combined with disordered functions of the body, due to poisons engendered within or introduced from without, conspire together in varied degrees to derange the mind.

F. W. MOTT.

## FATIGUE AND EFFICIENCY.\*

A NEW book has lately appeared, by Miss Josephine Goldmark,<sup>1</sup> an American lady who has given much thought and study to the subject of industrial conditions. This book, "Fatigue and Efficiency," does not of course break entirely new ground; there are hints, forecasts, of Miss Goldmark's ideas to be found as far back as the early nineteenth century. But so far as I know, this is the first systematic treatise on the dynamic relation of the worker to the work. Its chief aim is to present the results of the new study of fatigue as a basis for labour legislation. Such a basis was almost entirely lacking in the early days of the agitation for factory reform, when the cruelties inflicted on children and the almost inconceivable strain put upon the operatives, forced often to work night and day, caused a wave of horror and pity, resulting, however, for many years, only in timorous and half-hearted legislation. When the factory reformers demanded mercy for the children, their opponents would meet them with the apparently crushing query whether it was worse to over-work or to starve. Economic thought, and the thought of most men who were in the habit of speaking authoritatively, in those days, was pervaded by a curiously mechanical conception of work. An hour's work was an hour's work, and if you wanted to know how much the output of 5 hours, or 12 hours, or 24 hours work was, you multiplied by 5, or 12, or 24. Robert Owen was trying to re-state the relation of fatigue and efficiency when he told Sir Robert Peel's Committee in 1816 that a reduction in working-hours did not involve a corresponding reduction in output, and that, given sufficient time for the change to take effect, it would not involve any reduction in output at all. He was met with incredulity; and unfortunately was not ready with any detailed facts and figures to prove a statement then regarded as startling. Although violent and heated controversies took place over the agitation for a shorter day, there was little attempt to study the economics of the matter for many years, and in 1837 Nassau Senior made his remarkable statement, which has

\* A paper read before the Sociological Society, November 26, 1912.

1. "Fatigue and Efficiency." By Josephine Goldmark. New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1912. \$3.50.

been so often pilloried that I am sorry to drag it to light again, were it not an almost indispensable link in the history of thought on these matters. Nassau Senior pronounced that ten hours work per day were necessary to pay interest on capital and working expenses of running a factory, and that only in the eleventh and twelfth hours of work did any profit accrue to the manufacturers. This was mere armchair speculation, but it was quoted for years afterwards as a grave and scientific argument.

The first real attempt to study the subject at first hand was made in 1843, when the Children's Employment Commission sent a commissioner, one J. L. Kennedy, to investigate the industry of calico cloth printing. He obtained information from a firm who told him that they had tried to run the mill 15 hours a day, and found they had so large an amount of spoiled work that they were compelled to shorten hours to avoid an actual loss. When they reduced the hours of work the proportion of spoiled work fell, and the output was increased. Kennedy's report went into great detail which I cannot reproduce here. The results of his investigation enabled him to put his finger on the fallacy of the "last hour." Senior had missed the important fact that the productiveness of the machinery depended upon the skill of the operative, and on his power to concentrate and sustain his attention throughout the day. Machine tending was not nearly such mechanical work as had been supposed, and the output depended largely on the skill of the workman and his power to give his attention to his work, a power which is obviously very much lessened when suffering from great fatigue. In practice, therefore, it was precisely in the last hours that the production and the profit were found to diminish.

So far Miss Goldmark's account of the matter, which I have here only very briefly summarised, does not contain anything very new; she has brought together a more considerable mass of interesting material than any previous student, but her conclusions had already been indicated by Lujo Brentano in his book "Hours and Wages in relation to Production," by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in "Industrial Democracy," and in some half-dozen books on the Factory Acts. In her study of the relation of work to fatigue Miss Goldmark comes to closer quarters with her subject. The mere fact that the quality of work was observed to deteriorate when the hours of work were greatly prolonged did not prove anything; it might be merely due to moral slackness on the worker's part, which is at all events an easy explanation, not

demanding much mental fatigue on the part of the critic of another class. There is, however, now in existence a considerable body of scientific observation on the subject of fatigue, and it seems not unlikely that before long it will be possible to deduce the relation of productivity to effort with some degree of certainty. The difficulty has hitherto been, in Miss Goldmark's opinion, that the observations made by scientific men are mostly carried on in a world quite remote from and foreign to the region of the factory and the workshop. As a rule, the legislator who makes laws to protect labour, the enlightened employers who need protection from unscrupulous competitors, and the trade unions which promote legislation, have neither time nor opportunity to study these physiological investigations. On the other hand, to the scientist, as a rule (apart from an exception here and there) industry is mostly an undiscovered country. Physicians, and indeed professional men generally, are little aware of the conditions under which industrial work is carried on, of the changes that are made, of the speeding up that is taking place in machinery, and so on. It thus happens that industrial legislation has been passed either as in early times, from motives of pure philanthropy, or more recently, with an inkling of the idea that unduly long hours make bad work, but with little knowledge of the scientific basis for this idea. It seems likely enough that if the real nature of the subject were better understood, it would very much change the dominant views of the regulation of hours in the Factory Acts now in force.

Let us see what the physiologists tell us about fatigue. The process of life means a continual change of structure. "The distinctive property of the cell—that indeed which makes it living—is its power of taking to itself and converting to its own substance materials that are not living. This is a double process; for just as the potential stuff is seized and wrought into live tissue, so the outworn dead matter which is no longer of use is cast off and ultimately expelled from the body." "In every tiny block of muscle," Sir Michael Foster tells us, "there is a part which is really alive, there are parts which are becoming alive, there are parts which have been alive but are now dying or dead."

Two processes of cellular life are thus continually carried on in the living body; assimilation, or building up; disassimilation, or breaking down material into simpler forms. "The blood is the medium through which nutritive materials are carried to the

tissues, and through which also the chemical products of tissue destruction are carried on. These chemical wastes are poisonous impurities, created by the vital activities of the organism, and it is precisely to their accumulation in the blood that fatigue is due."

"During activity . . . the products of chemical change increase. A tired person is literally and actually a poisoned person—poisoned by his own waste products. But so marvellously is the body constructed that, like a running stream, it purifies itself, and during repose these toxic impurities are normally burned up by the oxygen brought by the blood, excreted by the kidneys, destroyed in the liver, or eliminated from the body through the lungs. So rest repairs fatigue. "This balance is kept true and fatigue is repaired just as long as it remains within physiological limits; that is, as long as activity is balanced by repose."

As soon as equilibrium is destroyed the organism becomes clogged by its own poisons, exhaustion results, and health is impaired. In extreme instances of over-exertion, as when hunted animals drop dead in the chase, they die, not from overstrain of any particular organ, such as the heart, but from sheer chemical poisoning due to the toxins of fatigue not having been expelled from the body. In animals, for instance, run to death in the chase, the blood is found loaded with the products of chemical action, and abnormally rapid putrefaction and rigidity of muscles follows after death. The same effects have been noticed in the occasional cases of men who have run till they dropped dead.

Pieraccini made an extract of the fatigued muscle of one animal and injected it into an animal which was not fatigued, whereupon the muscles of the second animal showed signs of fatigue. Mosso has performed experiments of a similar nature and obtained figures showing the lines traced on a prepared paper by a frog's muscle, attached to a lever and so disposed that, if at rest, the line traced would be straight; if the muscle were electrically stimulated to contract, the line traced described a sharp upward bend. A series of 550 lines thus traced showed that the muscle responded strongly at first to the electric stimulus, but the response progressively weakened, and at the end of the series the lines are almost flat. This fatigue of the muscle is due to the paralysing action of the fatigue products in the blood, for if at any time after fatigue set in the suspended muscle is washed out through its blood vessels with a normal salt solution its power to contract returns, that is to say, as soon as the fatigue products are washed away, the muscle



is rested. Mosso also devised an apparatus called the ergograph to study muscular contraction in man. The arm and hand are held fast, all except the middle finger, and the person experimented may either voluntarily contract his finger at regular intervals, lifting a weight or stretching a spring, or the finger may be electrically stimulated. In either case the contractions recorded show a definite sequence or curve, which varies for different persons. If sufficient rests are allowed between contractions no fatigue results. But after complete fatigue, once the muscles are exhausted, the utmost expenditure of will power does not enable them to contract further; a very long interval, two hours, say, is necessary for the muscle to make a complete recovery.

Another factor in fatigue is the consumption of the material in the body from which energy for contraction is obtained.

Glycogen is one of the stored materials of the muscle, a compound of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; and muscular tissue has the power of forming this glycogen from the sugar of dextrose brought to it by the blood. Dextrose is the form of sugar in which our carbohydrate foods (starch, sugar, etc., the bulk of our usual diet) are eventually absorbed into the blood and carried thence to the muscular tissues. Glycogen is as it were, stored for use, always being replenished, always being depleted and used up. When the muscle is active and contracts energetically, there is a run upon our glycogen, and it is used up faster than it is built up into muscle; it may even be entirely consumed. Thus the other fundamental factor in fatigue is the consumption of the energy-yielding substance. Exhaustion taps the very source of our energies.

Mosso has shown that a much stronger electric stimulus is required to make a wearied muscle contract than one which is rested. As the muscle tires and accomplishes less work, more and more energy must be supplied for contraction; effort increases with fatigue. Maggiora found that after his finger muscles were exhausted by a series of contractions in the ergograph, he had to allow a two hour rest before they were completely rested. If he lessened the period and allowed only one hour and a half for rest, the muscle was insufficiently restored and could not do so much work as when thoroughly rested. By analogy it might have been supposed that if the work were lessened, the period of rest might be reduced in the same proportion, but experience showed, to his surprise, that even less rest proportionally was needed after the shorter period of work. If work be reduced by one-half, the period of necessary



rest can be reduced half or three-quarters as much. Thus if 30 contractions exhaust the finger muscle so that it needs two hours rest, 15 contractions require not one hour but only a half hour for rest. This very beautiful and interesting result is most significant for the student of industrial questions, for it shows that the expenditure of energy after fatigue has set in, is much greater than that which would produce a similar result *before* fatigue has set in. Moreover, the tracings of work done on these instruments are much smaller in the second series of contractions than in the first; the output falls off, as we might say of industrial work. Hence work done after fatigue has set in not only costs more effort but accomplishes less. On the other hand, the ergograph record shows that rest taken at the critical moment before exhaustion is reached, has a most remarkable recuperative effect. If work be stopped after the first set of contractions, before the muscle is completely exhausted, it accomplishes just twice the amount of work which was produced when the muscle was pushed to the utmost point of exhaustion. As Mosso himself explains it: "Our bodies are not constructed like a locomotive which consumes the same quantity of coal for every kilogrammetre of work. When the body is fatigued, even a small amount of work produces disastrous results. The workman who persists in his task when he is already fatigued not only produces less effective work, but receives greater injury to his organism."

It may perhaps be objected that with experiments such as those described on the ergograph, the conditions are so artificial that it is rather dangerous to argue that if a given result follows a certain action on the ergograph, the same result will follow action of a different kind in ordinary life. But in the present case the ergograph experiments do not so much prove a new point, as illustrate and confirm conclusions already reached by practical observations in industry. There is, for instance, the celebrated experiment made by Messrs. Mather and Platt at the Salford Iron Works in 1893. This experiment was made on purpose to discover how far it was possible to shorten hours without endangering the trade, and its result was, that with the 48 hours week, production was actually increased, relatively to the previous years when 54 or 53 hours had been worked.

Mr. (now Sir William) Mather attributed the maintenance of output in shorter hours to the "unimpaired and cheerful energy on the part of every man and boy throughout the day," and he

uses this phrase. "We seem," he wrote, "to have been working in harmony with a natural law. . . . The most economical production is obtained by employing men only as long as they are at their best."

The following year the government factories and workshops reduced working hours to an average of 48 hours per week. The War Office had results very similar to those of Messrs. Mather and Platt. The Navy Ordnance Department appears not to have figured out the matter so carefully as Sir Wm. Mather did, but at all events they had nothing adverse to report. In their case the results were somewhat complicated by the fact that various improvements in machinery and organisation had been introduced concurrently with the 48 hours week.

A more elaborate experiment was that of the Engis chemical works, near Liège, reported by Monsieur L. G. Fromont. The interest of this experiment lies especially in the fact that it was made, not at all on account of the demands of labour, but on account of the managing engineer's own observation of the exhaustion of the workmen. The work in a dangerous occupation like chemicals is naturally a great strain, great heat is necessary, and there is the risk of inhaling poisonous gases. The company had a sick benefit fund, and this fund was constantly having its balance depleted, as it paid part salaries during unemployment due to sickness, as well as medicines and so forth. It was not liable for accidents, which were separately insured against. Over and above the financial difficulty, the management was alarmed by the increasing physical debility of the workers. After much consideration they adopted the three-shift system and curtailed the working day to eight hours. The results of this change in relation to output, earnings, and the disbursement of the sick benefit fund, were recorded most carefully, and plotted out in a series of charts. It is impossible for me to describe these in detail, but the results would be hardly credible if one came to them fresh, with no knowledge of what had been done elsewhere. The output of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hours work equalled the previous output of 10 hours, and consequently the earnings, being all piece rate, equalled the previous earnings. The increase of output and wages per hour were about 33 per cent. The curve of the sick benefit fund showed that previous to the introduction of the 8 hours' day the expenditure exceeded receipts; while after the 8 hours' day, receipts tended to exceed expenditure, and that progressively,

except for having epidemics of influenza in three winters. The improvement in health was altogether remarkable and the improvement in sobriety quite as much so. The effects on cost of production were a reduction of 33 per cent. per ton of roasted ore, and 20 per cent. on total cost of production.

Perhaps even more surprising and significant are the results obtained by Ernst Abbé. Abbé was the son of a Saxon operative, but managed to study science at Jena and Göttingen, and was appointed a professor in 1870. He became deeply interested in applied optics, and eventually entered the firm of Carl Zeiss, a manufactory of lenses, microscopes, and telescopes. When he joined the firm the men were working 12 hours a day. Abbé had got interested in English experiments for shorter hours, and from 1870 to 1891 he gradually reduced the working day to 9 hours. In 1899 he experimented with the 8 hours day and kept most careful account of all the results. In the year of the 8 hours day the men earned, by piece work, on an average, about 3 per cent. more than they had earned in the previous year working 9 hours, and though all sorts of difficult kinds of work were being done, varying very much in the degree of skill demanded, the efficiency of different grades increased in about the same proportion, though such difference as there was, was in favour of the coarser kinds of work. A curious point was that the men themselves were unconscious of having made any special effort, and were astonished to find their earnings increased. A few only had made a tremendous effort at the beginning of the experiment, but found they got exhausted and fell back. The increased output was a phenomenon they were unaware of. It is rather interesting to note that whereas Robert Owen thought the increased goodwill of the workers helped to maintain the output, Abbé came to the conclusion that the increased efficiency was rather physiological than psychological. He found that the vague subjective conception of fatigue and repair rests upon objective changes in the human body, changes that can even be measured. If this need of recuperation is neglected, the effect is like a daily recurring deficit, which in the financial world would lead to bankruptcy, and does mean an actual definite loss in industry. To make it clearer still, Abbé puts it this way: to keep your men at work 10 hours a day, is exactly as if you required them over and above their day's work, to spend two hours sitting in the workshop, in a cramped position, hearing the noise, exerting attention, mentally and

physically fatigued, but doing absolutely nothing. The short working day makes closer application possible, unless of course pressure and effort spur him to accomplish too large a task in too short a time, in which case the benefits of reduced hours are lost. The reduction of hours is followed by increased efficiency up to the point where the greater speed and intensity overpasses physiological limits, and after that point the excessive intensity of effort costs the workers more than is repaired by the longer space of time allowed off for recuperation. The need of shorter hours is especially felt in industries worked continuously, night and day, and in these, from the nature of the case, it appears that there must either be 2 shifts of men working 12 hours a day, or 3 shifts, working 8 hours a day. A committee of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation (a body which will scarcely be suspected of sentimentality) has recently given as its opinion that a 12 hours day of labour followed continuously for years means a decrease of efficiency and a lessening in vigour and vitality.<sup>1</sup>

We must now come to consider a special feature of modern conditions of work, namely the strain of extreme speed. It is tolerably certain that hours of work have been reduced all round, except in certain seasonal trades at their times of greatest pressure, and certain dressmaking and tailoring workshops and laundries which manage to evade the inspector. But it is doubtful whether the reduction of hours has brought the workers a proportionate relief. The strain and speed of modern industry is something our grandfathers and great-grandfathers never dreamed of. It is not uncommon in New England mills for one woman to tend from 16 to 24 Northrop looms; years ago she only tended two. It is true that the new automatic attachments of the modern loom enable weavers to run a larger number of such machines with no greater effort and fatigue than was formerly involved in running a smaller number of the old-fashioned kind. But that is not the whole story. According to a liberal estimate, after an increase to 18 looms the advantages of the new devices are more than counterbalanced by the increase in numbers, and the strain of the occupation becomes too great. To give a simple instance: the strain on the weaver's attention was greatly lessened by the invention of an automatic stop-motion, whereby power is automatically

1. "Report on Hours of Labour in Continuous Industries," presented to the 7th Conference of the International Association for Labour Legislation, 1912. (To be obtained from the office of the British Section, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.)

turned off, and the loom stops at breakage of the warp. But where one weaver has perhaps 24 looms to tend in place of the former 8, the strain upon the attention is even greater than before, and since a weaver's wages depend upon the continuous running of the machines, the strain is continuous. Also the large number of looms involves a great deal more exertion in walking.

Miss Butler also, in a recent work on Pittsburgh, has described the immense strain to which girls were subjected in the tobacco works, where an elaborate system of piece rates was combined to induce the girls to keep up the speed, and yet keep their attention fixed, the double strain causing nervous breakdown in several of the girls observed. No doubt in America speeding up has reached a point beyond what we have here, nevertheless Miss Anderson wrote in her Memorandum to the Committee on Physical Deterioration that persons not familiar with the conditions of mill life could have no conception of the stress and strain, to the women and girls employed.

Another of the lady inspectors wrote to me about four years ago: "I think a shorter day all round will have to come for the textiles. The speeding up of machinery makes the strain too great for prolonged work for adults; much more for young girls. Now with the boom both in cotton and woollen the strain of the full hours with speeding up is almost intolerable to the less robust women and girls." In the factory inspector's report for 1911 there is a case of a textile mill-owner who has voluntarily reduced the working day to 8½ hours, apparently without feeling any loss.

Many persons suppose brain work to be more exhausting than physical work. The dividing line is probably less sharp than is supposed. Dr. Emil Roth tells us that the psychic factor in work is much more important than has been generally recognised. In proportion as physical work is, at the same time mentally fatiguing, the greater the attentiveness that it requires, so much sooner does fatigue appear. This is the case with all occupations which are linked with special dangers, or where an extreme and unrelenting attentiveness is required. The psychic factor is also important in regard to monotony. With the progressive division of labour, work becomes more and more mechanical. A definite share of over fatigue and its sequels, especially neurasthenia, must be ascribed to monotony; to the absence of spontaneity or joy in work. In the American canneries, for instance, which have been described by Miss Butler, it does not appear that the muscular work



is too hard for the girls; fatigue results from the tax upon eyes and attention in watching the machine which continually carries a stream of vegetables past them. These must be intently watched for any defect, and women suffer much, even after considerable experience, from nausea and dizziness resulting from the monotonous examination of the moving conveyors.

A few years ago, in our own factory inspector's report, Miss Vines gave a case of girls and women making metallic capsules, and their work was nothing but dropping little bits of tin into a slot, which come out capsules at the other end. The foreman told Miss Vines that the work being so terribly monotonous and petty, workers were only put on to feed the machine for periods of two or three hours at a time; alternately they have the work of taking and counting the finished capsules. In work of this kind a situation is created in which the worker cannot take any normal healthy interest in his or her work.

The strain of speed is often increased by the psychological influence of piece work, and various devices for inducing intense energy. We know, of course, that there is a great deal to be said for piece work: it makes earnings fair as between the good worker and the careless; and it is an incentive to do one's best, at least so it is said. On the other hand, workers are apt to see another side when they find that if they earn too much, as they say, the piece rates are cut down. Mr. Taylor, the author of "Scientific Management," condemns piece work as tending indirectly to produce slack work, the workers being positively frightened of doing too much, and having their piece rates reduced. This is a complicated subject I cannot go into detail, but it is necessary to point out here that piece work can be used as a device to inflict a very terrible strain, especially when there is a bonus for economy of material as well as a bonus for speed, as happens in some of the American factories.

There is also the question of accidents in relation to fatigue. The power of attention and perception certainly diminishes under great fatigue and the faculties become less sharp. A Post Office clerk told Mosso that in the morning he could distinguish by weighing in his hand a letter  $15\frac{1}{2}$  gr. from one of 15 gr., but in the evening he could no longer do so. These facts are important in relation to accidents. Various statistical studies have been made of accidents in relation to the day's work. They do not all yield perfectly clear results, because there is a



complicating factor in the fact that in the last hour of the morning's work very often a portion of the personnel is absent at dinner, and consequently the proportion of accidents is lowered by that very fact. But it is very significant that all the studies of accidents per hour show a rise in the percentage as the morning goes on, the highest percentage occurring usually between 10 to 11, or 9 to 10, and a drop after the dinner hour. The percentage after dinner is very much smaller and again rises. A table compiled by the inspectors which appears in the Report for 1908, shows a steady rise in the number of accidents from Monday to Friday.

This subject of course needs closer and more accurate observation than it has yet had, and the calculations ought to be made relatively to the number employed at the time the accident occurred. But it is impossible to look at the figures given by Miss Goldmark from various sources and not see that there is a relation between accidents and fatigue; a relation which has indeed been guessed at for many years back, it is alluded to in Mrs. Gaskell's "Mary Barton" even. There are some interesting figures given by an inspector in the State of Illinois, who says that out of 2700 accidents, 82 per cent. might conceivably have been avoided if the injured, or the fellow-servant who was the cause of the accident in some cases, had had accurate muscular control. The summit of the accident curves in these cases occurred between 10 and 12 a.m. and between 4 and 5 p.m. Mrs. Deane-Streatfield, in a recent valuable paper, has drawn attention to the increased risk of accident towards the end of the 5 hours spell of work allowed in non-textile factories, which is a great strain, especially of course to the younger girls, and especially in laundries, where the machinery is very dangerous, and workers wearied out cannot put their full attention into guarding against the danger. Again, fatigue affects vision. Mosso says that in great muscular effort and extreme fatigue, cerebral anæmia is produced, and this anæmia may diminish the power of vision. Migrating quails have been known, when exhausted by long flights, to dash themselves against poles or houses which they cannot see.

The strongest impression produced by Miss Goldmark's book is, that as Sir William Mather expressed it, "we are working in harmony with a natural law," that is to say, that eventually a scientific formula will be found for the relation of productivity to effort, and that it will involve something like another industrial revolution. The terrible drive and strain and overwork of working

people in the nineteenth century will be seen to have been not merely cruel but actually stupid. The relation of output to effort, is fast coming well within the range of scientific measurement, and clearer knowledge of the subject seems likely to upset a great many preconceived ideas. Some interesting experiments are recorded by Mr. Taylor in that very curious and significant document, "Scientific Management." Mr. Taylor writes quite frankly from the profit-making point of view. But even from that point of view his conclusions are extremely advanced. It is an essential part of his system that *rest must adequately balance exertion*, and that in no case is the workman called upon to perform work at a speed dangerous to health. The aim is to utilize the man's strength to the best effect, and evolve his best skill, ingenuity, and initiative. Mr. Taylor says, *e.g.*, of loading iron: "Throughout the time that the man is under a heavy load the tissues of his arm are in process of degeneration, and frequent periods of rest are required in order that the blood may have a chance to restore these tissues to their normal condition."

There remains a further question, still more interesting for the student of society, and that is, what is the relation of effort to the full development of the citizen, the complete man or woman. This relation might in certain cases be different from the productivity relation. It seems quite likely that in the future, when society has reduced the hours of work to the point indicated by the index of maximum productivity, society may yet discover that even that duration of work is too much for the full development of personality and of civic, as distinguished from industrial efficiency. This is a remote speculation, unlikely to come within the range of practical politics in any near future. What is paramount at the present moment is to recognize that the burden of strain and fatigue now resting on the working classes, and especially on the women, who usually work longer hours than men, is really not required by the needs of society, or even by the "economic man," understanding in that phrase, the man who is guided in his business relations by the most enlightened motives of self-interest.

B. L. HUTCHINS.

## THE REVIVAL OF THE VILLAGE.

A REACTION against centralisation is one of the notes of the present day, a note which, I venture to think, will be heard with more and more insistency as the century gets older, because it results from the conditions involved by the progress of modern invention and discovery, psychological and physical. Increased facilities of communication tend for a time to increase of centralisation, but push these still further and the contrary effect emerges: for they tend to put an increasingly large area on the same level in this respect as the towns themselves, and therefore enable manufacturers to set up elsewhere and large numbers to settle outside the larger towns without feeling cut off from the movement of life. At the same time the smaller groups thus forming and enlarging yearly in the outskirts of our great cities are not, it may be justly objected, villages but suburbs; *i.e.*, though they may develop a local life they are economically directly dependent upon the city and not upon the land. The village is essentially the headquarters of a group economically directly dependent on the land. It is of course a matter of general knowledge that during the last half of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth century all causes combined to bring about the decay of the villages of England. The loss of independence and prosperity of the people owing to the enclosures, together with the attraction of the increasingly accessible towns and colonies, drew away the more adventurous of the young men. The policy of the squires acted in the same direction. More labourers meant more old people on the rates; cottages were expensive to build and keep up; small farming was antiquated and large farms worked largely by machinery gave less trouble all round and were the proper thing; more villagers meant more possible poachers and were for every reason undesirable. Of late years, however, it has been realised by an increasing number that it is not a matter of indifference to a country whether or not it has a proportion of agriculturists. It is found that big towns not only have a lower standard of physique, but actually have to be fed by a constant stream of immigration from the country because they do not reproduce themselves after the third generation; further, that country life and occupations at their best develop a human type whose existence is of importance to the nation in itself and apart from the need of stocking the towns. The revival of the village should therefore be looked at as a matter of national importance, and is felt to be such by a small yet increasing number.

What are the characteristics of the village life which help to create this type where the system is in full development? They are: seasonal work dependent on the round of the year and punctuated by seasonal festivals; a diffusion of private property together with the exercise of common rights; a wealth of tradition expressed in song, story, and dance, and thus the power and habit of making amusement in the village without the need to seek it

ready-made in the nearest town; the education—by the influences of work, folk, and place—of hand, heart, and head, of which the modern agricultural labourer is too often, and the modern townsman almost invariably, deprived. All this has been at the most flourishing period of the village system gathered up and expressed in the village church, with its holy wells and local shrines, its perambulations of the village bounds, its local feast and Christian calendar. The modern English village knows little of it; the English village is slowly dying, and the modern English rustic is a manufactured article. The revival of the village must therefore be attempted on more lines than one; it must aim at re-creating all the elements of a self-supporting rural community. These efforts may be for convenience divided into:—

- (1) The attempt to deal through Acts of Parliament with land and housing conditions;
- (2) The attempt to revive village handicrafts as supplementary, or in exceptional cases alternative, occupations for villagers;
- (3) The attempt to revive the old songs and dances and to stimulate an interest in acting and drama, together with flower-shows and village institutes providing newspapers and books;
- (4) The attempt to induce villagers to co-operate for common purposes, especially in such simple ways as
  - (a) the formation of cow-clubs for the provision of milk,
  - (b) for credit, so much needed by small holders,
  - (c) for the purchase and sale of commodities,
  - (d) for the joint holding of land to be severally cultivated,
  - (e) for the building and ownership of cottages.

The dearth of cottages in most country villages is notorious, and is in some ways the most urgent aspect of the question of village revival. There are, of course, many villages where at present cottages cannot be built except by the charity of the squire, because wages are too low to make a paying rent possible. There are others where the possession of a large garden or small allotment with the cottage, and the fact that cottages can be built cheaply for one reason or another, makes it possible for a paying rent to be paid, provided the land can be obtained cheaply enough. There is, however, as a rule no one whose business it is to go into the matter and see what can be done. The villagers themselves are not in a position to do so—being, we must remember, as they are, manufacturers of articles—and so the cottages do not usually get built even in such cases. There is now an association, the Rural Co-partnership Housing Association, which exists to form local societies which shall undertake this work. It provides them with model rules, with help and advice, and it is associated with the Rural Co-partnership Housing Trust which will invest in approved Societies as far as its resources permit, provided certain conditions are satisfied. Such societies expect tenants to become members, taking up a £1 share for which they pay gradually and going on to £5. Surplus profits above 5 per cent., if any, go to the tenant-members, when provision has been made for depreciation, etc., and they enjoy security of tenure provided they respect the rights of

other tenants and do not disregard certain simple regulations as to over-crowding, etc. Tenant members may cultivate a garden only, or they may be small holders and hold twenty or thirty acres; the system is very elastic. The Association is at present at work in a few cases only but is likely to spread considerably in the next few years. At Dachet, near Windsor, a number of allotment holders who would otherwise have lost their allotments, have been formed into a society owning thirty acres in which sixteen cottages are built, twelve more are nearly finished. At Otford, near Sevenoaks, 160 acres have been acquired; thirteen cottages are being built for small holders taking from one to twenty acres, while others with half an acre only are in contemplation. At Somersham, Hunts., a fruit-growing district, cottages are being built to be let with one or two acres or less; twenty in all are to be built, and two are already completed. At St. Mawes, Cornwall, a society is being started which will build for the fishermen whose ruinous old cottages will be done up at considerable expense for the summer visitors. These are instances merely of what is being done already.

These societies own their own land, or they may build upon publicly owned land. In any case, the cottages do not become the property of the individual tenant but are collectively owned. They thus serve to build up that sense of membership in a community which modern life, even village life, tends so much to lessen. All forms of co-operation have this valuable result and are indeed indispensable for this if for no other reason in the revival of the village. The suspicion of each other, as well as of the better off, which is one of the most characteristic traits of the modern rustic mind, must be changed into a different attitude if the revival of the village is to be a reality. It would be strange if they were not suspicious when we remember how much they have lost by the enclosures, how all the circumstances of their present lives make for isolation, and how extremely poor they are. But such an atmosphere is not one which can produce an ideal community, rustic or otherwise. By the spread of co-operation the villages can be made to see that their interests are one with their neighbours, and this habit of acting together will naturally result in a different spirit from that now prevalent. Societies for the joint holding of land are vigorously promoted by the Agricultural Organisation Society, as well as others for purchase and sale of commodities, and both forms are making considerable headway. Credit societies are absolutely essential for rural development, but so far they have made little progress in this country for want of a large central association in possession of funds or credit.

In regard to the revival of folk song and dance much is being done by the Esperance Club and by Mr. Cecil Sharp and the Folk Song Society, while flower-shows and village institutes are sporadic everywhere. Village bands are being resuscitated, and with them come dances on the green once more, as well as in the village hall or institute in the winter. The revival of handicrafts is terribly hampered by the lack of organisation for sale. Much has been done, as far as weaving is concerned, by organisation for sale in regard to Scottish and Irish industries, but hardly anything for



English, while such industries as local pottery, carving, ironwork, etc., are likewise at a disadvantage.

As regards Acts of Parliament dealing with land and housing something has been done, but little as compared with the need. The Small Holdings Act works in some counties but not in others, the last Housing and Town-planning Act practically not at all in rural districts.

It has been well said that there are two ways in which the State can interfere with the actions of men and women: by way of restraint, the paternal way; by way of guidance and encouragement, the maternal way. There is a tendency in the modern State to pass from the first to the second method, but here England lags behind. We still cling too largely to what may be best described as a flabby paternal line. Thus laws are enacted which aim feebly at forcing landlords to give up land when required for small holdings, and obliging local authorities to house the people when this appears necessary. The State now forces everybody to make provision for sickness; it obliges people to send their children to school. On the other hand it does not even allow, without special permission from the Local Government Board, and certainly does not encourage, local authorities to buy land in excess of any immediate demand for any purpose that may seem good to them, such as ensuring that sufficient land shall be kept open for public recreation and enjoyment, as is often done in Germany, on a large scale, or to provide for a probable future demand for small holdings or housing. Nor has it so far seen fit to encourage enterprise by setting up a Central Co-operative Bank to deal with the finance of local societies.

In France and Germany great encouragement is given to such institutions, and they are at work on a very large scale. Here the idea of the State as necessarily occupied rather in repressing crime and enforcing regulations than in encouraging such desired developments seems to hold the field to a far greater extent. Thus while State organisation for the sale of village industries or to assist co-operative agricultural developments is probably outside the range of practical politics here, except in the shape of grants for propagandist work, Austria does much, I understand, for the sale of village industries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Denmark devotes its energies largely to the organisation of the sale of dairy produce. The prevalent State attitude would matter little if things were being done privately in a satisfactory way; but this is so far from being the case that there is no country where village handicrafts have a more difficult struggle than in England, or where the small man finds it harder to get credit, while comparatively few people even now realise the importance of these matters as a whole to the nation. Sometimes an attempt is made to utilise one or other as a plank in party politics. The re-creation of the village, however, is not a matter of party politics: it is a problem of national concern, and should be thought of as essential to a general policy of revival of country life as necessary to the future of England.

SYBELLA BRANFORD.



## THE FAMILY SYSTEM IN CHINA.\*

WHEN we begin to study any kind of social organisation in China we must start with the family system, which forms the basis of the social structure and even of the structure of the State in China. It is no exaggeration to say that China as a whole consists of families, and of nothing else. They are divisible into two distinct types: (1) the family, or the joint-family; (2) the clan.

These two are not mutually exclusive. The family may consist of the husband, the wife, and the children, as we find it in Western Europe; but more frequently it consists of a larger number of members. Two or more brothers may live together in one house when all are married, and the married sons never separate from their parents. In order to make the matter clear, let us imagine an individual without elders and follow him in the formation of his family group. We will suppose that A is an immigrant to a town where he has no relatives, where he establishes himself, marries, and has two sons and one daughter. The greatest happiness of every Chinese parent is, first, to have offspring—the son is of course preferred to the daughter—and secondly, to see the son or the daughter properly married. To arrange matches for the younger generation is not only the right but the duty of parents. The age of marriage varies from seventeen to twenty-five and in old days it was rare, so far as the middle class was concerned, for a man of twenty-five to be unmarried, although elderly spinsters were often met with. The two sons in our imaginary family, then, are duly married, and their brides must live with their parents-in-law.

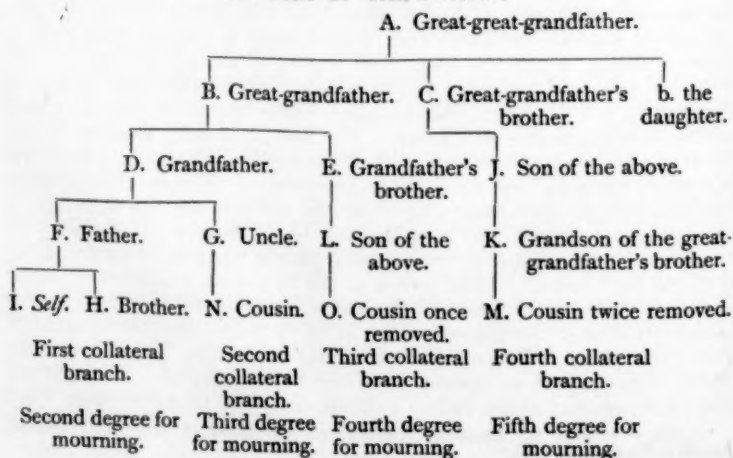
The son's wife shows to her husband's parents the same obedience and submission that she gives to her own. She takes no prominent part in the household except as her husband's partner. The administration of affairs will continue in the hands of the mother-in-law, if she is not too old. In that case, the son's wife is probably free and happy; she troubles herself neither with the household work nor with the pecuniary difficulties of the family. Of course she may be burdened, if the family is comparatively poor, with cooking, washing, and other kinds of domestic labour; yet even so, she is not a responsible person, for the domestic centre of the family is still the mother-in-law. Here comes in one drawback of the family system in China. The son, as a rule, marries before he is able to make a living, and the father has to support him and his wife; duty as well as instinct demands it. If, however, the son has entered any profession or trade, he contributes his earnings to the common purse. He is supposed to be merely an auxiliary of the family; he cannot be treated as a person capable of establishing a home for himself. The wives of the two sons stand on an equal footing. The elder brother, however, represents the heir or—to adopt Professor De Groot's more suitable term—the continuator of his own line. Primogeniture being unknown in China, the continuator enjoys no special privilege in inheritance. He becomes the *paterfamilias* at his father's death, if he has no uncle older than

\* A Paper written for Professor Westermarck's Seminar in Sociology, London School of Economics, 1912.

himself; and the responsibility of the *paterfamilias* is by no means light, for he has the duty of looking after all the members of the family—their property as well as their behaviour.

The daughter meanwhile is married into a family of different surname—with a large dowry if her parents or brothers are able to provide it. In former days, when a girl was married, she paid less reverence to her parents than before she left her father's house. The Book of Rites (*Liki*) prescribed that the married daughter should wear mourning of the second degree only for her own parents, but of the first degree for her parents-in-law. This practice has been entirely changed in the course of time. To-day a married woman, in theory at least, belongs equally to the two houses, because she wears the same degree of mourning for her own parents as for her parents-in-law. Mourning in China plays a very important part in the social life. It has been very exhaustively and accurately treated by Professor De Groot in his laborious work, *The Religious Systems of China* (vol. II.); and here it is necessary only to point out that the changed position of woman is illustrated in a marked degree by the difference between the ancient and modern rules of mourning. In the archaic code, deep mourning was worn only for the father; now it is worn for both parents. Professor De Groot has rightly observed: "The aim of the official rescripts on mourning being in the first place to foster in the clan (i.e., members from paternal great-great-grand-parents down to great-great-grandchildren) subjection to parents and elders, and also coherence and mutual devotion between its members, it is natural that the registers should contain but few kinsmen who are members of other clans."<sup>1</sup> Hence there are even punishments prescribed for the neglect of mourning. This may seem grotesque and strange to Western ears, yet among the people where the family is the social unit and ancestor-worship forms the chief cult the regulation is of obvious value in preserving the efficient organisation of society. Its utility must not be too lightly dismissed.

#### DIAGRAM OF THE FAMILY.



1. *The Religious Systems of the Chinese*, pp. 563-4.

The family multiplies as the children grow up and marry. It is not uncommon for the joint household to consist of four or five generations (see diagram), or if we include collaterals of from ten to fifteen groups. The increase of numbers depends, of course, upon the fecundity of the parents, but adoption is allowed if there is no offspring. The Chinese are, as a rule, disinclined to allow a line to die out; and it is important to note that not only the perpetuation of the family but the continuation of the direct line requires adoption. In higher circles concubinage may be tolerated merely for the purpose of rearing the young, but adoption would appear to be more prevalent. The fear of a line's discontinuance is doubtless involved in the cult of ancestor-worship, since the ghost must needs be served with offerings by the descendants; or, in the words of the Chinese, "the *hun*-soul must be appeased." There is, moreover, the economic factor to be reckoned with, for the son, or sometimes even the daughter, provides support for the parents when they become advanced in age. The son-in-law is generally called 'half-son' in relation to the parents-in-law. Public opinion (not law) obliges him to support his parents-in-law if they are left without children and are in want. These two considerations, religious and economic, explain why marriage and the upbringing of offspring become a duty incumbent upon every Chinese who is normally fit for marriage; and as the young people do not make betrothals themselves, the duty falls upon the parents.

Adoption is a delicate affair. The sole heir of another family cannot be adopted, but in certain circumstances sons bearing a different surname may serve the purpose. As a rule, the choice is made from the generation immediately junior to the adopter. In default of any male immediately junior to the adopter, a grand-nephew may be accepted as the continuator. It seems clear, therefore, that the object of adoption is the perpetuation of the line rather than the merely egoistic motive on the part of the adopter of being worshipped after death. Suppose the whole family is dying out, the last male would incur the censure of being unfilial, and to be unfilial is a great sin against the ancestors. This blind submission to customary belief, however superstitious and illogical it may be, has had great advantages on the whole structure of society. The people are not only looking back to the past; they are thinking also of the future. If a man has a child, by either birth or adoption, his care is concentrated upon training him for a profession or educating him to become one of the *literati*.

It will be observed that in the diagram mourning is not extended beyond the five degrees; those members who are beyond the fifth are members only of the clan which traces its descent from a common ancestor of a remote age. The *paterfamilias* of the family is not so despotic as is generally supposed.<sup>1</sup> He is the chief of the family but by no means all-powerful. In a family with twenty or thirty members, the position of each is definitely fixed; all relationships have mutual obligations. After marriage, for instance, the

1. Müller-Lyer says: "Allgemein charakteristisch für die Völker der Hochfamilialen Phase ist die absolute Unterwerfung der Grossfamilie unter die Gewalt des Familienvaters, unter die *patria potestas* (*Die Familie*, p. 153).

bride is introduced to all the members of her husband's family so as to enable her to know exactly in what position she stands. She will accordingly pay due regard to those who are her elders and take care of those who are her juniors. Thus every member of the family knows exactly what measure of courtesy, respect, and reverence is due to every other. This explains how the principle of relationship pervades Chinese social life. There is little danger of the absorption of the son's individuality in that of the father. While the moralists emphasize the especial importance of filial piety, a well-known precept reminds us that "to rear the child without education is the fault of the father." The relationship, from whatever point we regard it, clearly indicates its reciprocal character. If there be any sign of impersonality in Chinese life; in other words, if personality remains undeveloped, as one American writer asserts, the reason may perhaps be found in the family system, but certainly not in patriarchal despotism, which has long been a thing of the past.

We may now examine the effect of the family-tie in its moral as well as its economic aspects.

I. *The family-tie deters crime.* As a man is implicated in a net of relationships, any crime committed by him involves serious results for the whole family. In bygone days the responsibility for crimes committed by junior members of the family rested with the *paterfamilias*, whose negligence or indulgence was believed to be its origin. This principle has long since fallen into desuetude; and we may doubtless attribute the decline of the old prestige of the *paterfamilias* to the gradual rise in position of the junior members of the family; but the defaulter must still take into account the consequences to the whole family. As Mr. Johnston says:

"To be duly filial a Chinese must not merely behave with dutiful obedience towards his parents when they are alive—and with dutiful reverence towards their *manes* when they are dead, but he must also act in such a way as to reflect no speck of discredit upon them by his own misdeeds."<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that the dutiful son or daughter maintains his or her self-respect not merely for the sake of the parents but for that of the whole family. An elder must have in his mind the social position of the family, and if he falls into any crime it is with the knowledge that he risks the derision and contempt of all his relatives, and consequent ostracism by the younger generation. The offence of a junior may bring equally bad consequences, and he will be punished by his elders or by the whole family.

II. *Family laws.* Our proverb says, "Every nation has its national laws whereas every family has laws of its own." The family laws are moral laws, the infringement of which may be followed by punishment. These laws form a special department of our literature, called *Chia shun* meaning "sermons in a family." For instance, if a junior member of a family committed theft from a neighbour and was discovered, the neighbour would not go to the police, for there is no police; or to the magistrate's court, for that

1. Johnson. *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 342-3.

is regarded as the last resort. He would first of all complain to the *paterfamilias* of the offender's family, and from him would receive compensation and apologies, according to custom. The wrongdoer is then punished by his own parents, if the wrong is insignificant; or he may be tried by the elder members—in age as well as in blood relationship—of the family. Perhaps he is forced to kneel before the ancestral temple, own his fault, and confess his repentance. This is considered the greatest shame, for it implies that the offender has become unworthy to be a descendant of his ancestors: the question whether the ancestors were glorious or not is irrelevant. The trial before the family tribunal is never interfered with by any public authority, although, needless to say, heavy offences are not left in the hands of the family tribunal, nor are they mitigated through the collective responsibility of the family. It seems clear that the family, on this point at any rate, resembles a political unit which is undisturbed by any governmental action. The classics in more than one place make mention of the right course of political development: it is by self-culture that the family is regulated; by regulating the family we rule the whole nation, and by ruling the whole nation well we find happiness and justice for the whole world.<sup>1</sup> Whatever is to be said of the theory here implied, the insistence upon self-culture and sound relationships within the family certainly strikes the right note.

III. *Ancestor worship.* The cult of ancestor worship has determined the stability of the Chinese family and the contentedness of our people. Every family of substance has its own ancestral temple; while the poor have ancestral tablets deposited in a quiet room of the house. The belief is, not that the spirit of the dead is deposited in the tablet but, so far as one can make out, that the tablet is no more than a symbol bearing the name of the dead. It is respected, not because the spirit resides in it, but because it designates the dead for worship. If the tablet were the residence of the spirit, what would be the use of the picture of the dead? The popular belief of to-day, I think, indicates a departure from the ancient belief in the spiritual character of the ancestral tablet. Ancestor-worship did not originate from the dread of ghosts, nor is it an "animistic lottery" for securing material welfare or advantage.<sup>2</sup> Ancestor-worship is rather the expression of an instinctive craving to trace the origin of the self. Every considerable family has its own stories of illustrious ancestors; some of whom may have sacrificed their lives for the people as governors or administrators, achieved philanthropic work, or distinguished themselves in literature or art; even the glorious history of housewives is not neglected. In the humble family the kind aged mother is never tired of narrating how certain ancestors led a strenuous life towards an upward path, and how certain members in a later generation failed through evil behaviour. Every Chinaman loves to trace the long history of his own family, thinking of himself as a transitional life linking up the past and the future. The proverb says, "Whenever you drink, think of the spring whence the water

1. See Legge's translation of *The Great Learning*, vol. i, pp. 221-3.

2. De Groot: *The Religion of the Chinese*, p. 87.



comes." This suggests to us that whenever we act or whenever we enjoy the ancestral property, we should remember the names and the hard toil of the ancestors.

Worship is performed twice every year in the ancestral temple, and on the birthday and death-day of every ancestor offerings are made. These rites have, I think, lost the significance of worship in a religious sense, and now imply nothing more than the keeping of days of remembrance. The ceremony performed by the worshipper is *kowtowing*, or prostration as is generally translated. But this implies no sense of worship; *kowtowing* is performed to elders by juniors on many occasions. As I have said, the family tribunal is often held in the ancestral temple. It is supposed that misconduct injures the already established reputation of the ancestors; or, according to another interpretation, that misconduct offends the spirits of the ancestors. Whatever the idea, the wrongdoer is punished or made to repent. If he is incorrigible, or he has incurred a grave penalty, he may be excommunicated by the collective action of the whole clan. On the whole, ancestor-worship is not a blind worship: it is respect for the past, gratitude for what the past has handed down, admiration of the good example of the past. But some may object that it has too narrow a scope; it is not extended beyond those who can trace descent from a common ancestor.

Another remarkable thing in connection with ancestor-worship may be mentioned in passing. All candidates for government examinations, and sometimes those applying for a professional position, have to furnish the names of their forbears for three generations, *i.e.*, the names of father, grandfather, and great-grandfather (sometimes also of mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother). Every successful student of the second degree (*chü jen*) in the government examination—this kind of government examination was abolished some eight years ago—published his essays for distribution. His genealogy is traced backwards for some two or three hundred years, the history of each ancestor, if there be any history at all, being concisely treated; even the history of the family of the women who have become wives in the family is described at length. The names also of all the teachers under whom the successful student has studied are inserted. All these are embodied in the preliminary part of the essay. Thus the publication gives a clear idea of the nature and nurture of the student, his hereditary and environmental influences. It has been remarked by many foreign writers that the Chinese appreciate kindness and are generally eager to return it. If this is so, the reason may perhaps be found in the cult of ancestor-worship.

From an economic point of view, the family system has its drawbacks as well as advantages.

1. *The family tie hinders enterprise.* The property of the family remains undivided as far as possible, and the indolent and inefficient never dream of attempting new enterprises. As I have mentioned, the son is married before he is capable of supporting himself, his wife, and his children; he is entirely dependent on the ancestral property; he tills the same land which his ancestors tilled a century ago. Since the family tie is strong, he is not



inclined to leave the family homestead, unless he is forced to seek a living elsewhere. If all the adult members are more or less productive, and can contribute to the family income, the common income may suffice to provide the living of the whole family. But jealousy and dissatisfaction may be aroused, and the breaking-up of the family property is sometimes the outcome.

The Chinese law of inheritance is a family law, and the conventional practice may be described as follows. If A (see diagram) is the founder of the family property, the division, if it takes place in B's lifetime, would be equal between B and C, no matter whether one had more children than the other or not. If the division should take place in F's generation, and L and K be the sole heirs along the main lines, F and G get one-eighth each, L gets one-fourth, and K gets one-half of the ancestral estate.

The division of the family property may be more frequently attributed to a purely economic necessity. A limited piece of land can hardly support an increasing population; and unless more land is added, or more income is derived from other sources, the family is bound to break-up, and different members begin to establish different homesteads. Yet the breaking-up of a family means nothing but the establishment of others, all belonging to the clan, and the members of the clan cling as tightly as ever to one another.

The custom incidentally throws much light on the non-existence of a great capitalistic system in China. A great business built up by one man dwindles into insignificance if it is shared and re-shared among the later generations. The piling up of wealth, which is so striking a characteristic of modern industrial nations, has been impossible in China. The joint-stock company also is hardly known; and the explanation may, I think, be partially found in the family system. The stability of the company is not assured, for the shares of the ancestors may be disposed of by the descendants and the company may involve family troubles. What is of much greater moment is that hardly any person who belongs to a family dares to run the risk of undertaking an enterprise. The Chinese law does not recognise individuals as such, but individuals in a web of relationships. A person's gain may possibly benefit his family; his failure is certain to bring disaster and misery. The fact that the compradores of olden days were as a rule recruited from a class less respectable than the ordinary merchant illustrates the shrinking attitude towards enterprises.

II. *The family tie renders public assistance less urgent.* The division of the family property in its actuality is, however, not so easy and simple as I have described, for disputes concerning "mine" and "thine," as we know, are carried on incessantly. Our proverb says, "Even a clever magistrate is not capable of arbitrating upon family matters." From time immemorial collective property of the whole family has been encouraged, and this is still the general rule, unless necessity urges otherwise. But although the individual is always in the grip of the family tie; although he is prevented from undertaking large enterprises, and although China suffers from retarded economic development, we have at least one thing with which to console ourselves, namely,

family socialism. It is the family system that has accounted for the comparative mildness of the struggle for existence in China. The *paterfamilias*, in fact each one of the male members of the group, has the unavoidable duty of providing for the family. He looks after the property, with or without the assistance of his brothers, cousins, and the adults of the generation next to him; and his management must satisfy all those concerned. If there is no family, the *paterfamilias* has to drudge for the living of the whole family. This again explains clearly why the desire for property among the Chinese is so remarkably strong. If it be objected that the burden of the family drags down individuals from self-development, at least it is true that publicly organised relief is a much less urgent problem with us than it is in England.

I need hardly dwell at length on the clan, which is merely a gathering of families. Throughout the length and breadth of China villages are called after the name of the clan inhabiting them: for instance, *Wangchatsuan*, the village of Wang; *Lichatsai*, the camp of Li. In South China and Middle China especially, great clans often live for centuries together, each having an illustrious and eventful history of its own. It should not, however, be inferred that the families of a clan always cluster in a village; for very often the village consists of a number of families bearing different surnames. The members of the whole clan generally number in hundreds and sometimes thousands. They usually have a common ancestral temple; otherwise they have a common ancestral temple where only very remote ancestors are worshipped, while each family has its own temple of ancestors pertaining to its own branch. Within a clan, the different families may be rich or poor, but as a rule, the families that are better off work collectively to relieve the poor families of the same clan. The clan may jointly possess property, the income from which covers the expenses of ancestral worship and the repair of graveyards.

Now a State, as was understood by the Chinese, contains merely a multitude of these self-governing communities, families or clans. It would be superfluous for me at this juncture to essay to show how the carrying out of this theory has helped the Chinese to perpetuate and to maintain a long history—though not necessarily an uneventful one—or to demonstrate how the theory has failed with the increasing complexity of social organisation. As we know, no worldly system is everlasting and there is nothing that does not change. Individualism has been creeping in, and the consequence, as is shown in most of the commercial towns along the coast, is beyond doubt disastrous. Let us hope that the loss of virtues once cultivated in the family will be temporary only, and that by a reconstruction of society the Chinese people will be enabled to weed out old evils and to meet the new needs.

P. L. K. TAO.

## PROFESSOR WESTERMARCK'S JUBILEE.

It was in the fitness of things that the preface to the *History of Human Marriage* should have been written by Alfred Russel Wallace, for the young Finnish scholar who wrote, in the nervous English of a born linguist, that epoch-making work, is the Darwin of moral science. His native country in many ways is the Greece of modern times: to those who know, it is easily the first of nations to-day in culture and civilisation. Westermarck is a typical specimen of her finest sons. In his own person he has repeated what the fair-haired Baltic aristocrats did for England thirteen centuries ago. They leavened Saxon blood; he has leavened English thought. For more than twenty years he has made England his second home. With the universality of the true scientist he writes in French, German, and Italian, as well as in English and Finnish; he speaks with the Moors as a brother, and as a blood brother he has spent many moons in their tents by the Atlas Mountains. Like Darwin he is a man, as well as a scholar. His large and sane humanity is reflected in his work. No one but a lover of his kind, no one but (in the vulgar and significant phrase) a sportsman, could have written *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. Those who know him are grateful for a sympathy and interest as child-like as it is profound, as shrewd withal as it is pregnant with human experience. There is something of Socrates about Westermarck: he inspires pupils to love him; he has humour; he has humanity.

The recently issued *Festskrift tillegnad Edvard Westermarck* (published by J. Simelii Arvingars, Helsingfors; 6/-) in honour of his 50th birthday is a handsome volume, containing papers by his old teacher, Dr. Th. Rein, his famous colleague, Yrjö Hirn, Drs. Haddon and Rivers, and ten other scholars, mostly his pupils at the University of Helsingfors. Dr. Rein's paper is a pragmatist introduction. Dr. Haddon describes the house-building of the New Guinea natives. Mr. Svedlin writes on duels in early Nordic times; Dr. Hirn on Kites, a subject as important in anthropology as is top-spinning in dynamics. Perhaps the most striking essay is that of Mr. B. Malinowski, on the Economic Aspect of the Intichiuma Ceremonies of the Central Australians. He possesses the eminently practical spirit and sane outlook of the thinker in whose honour he presents his study.

England's social students may be allowed to express in England's sociological organ their admiration for and confidence in Edward Westermarck.

We only trust that the brain which has given the world *The History of Human Marriage* and *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, will now, in the maturity of its capacity, achieve its super-work, in the masterpiece it has no doubt planned and is silently composing.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

## MYTHOLOGY AND LIFE:

### AN INTERPRETATION OF OLYMPUS; WITH APPLICATIONS TO EUGENICS AND CIVICS.

(Abstract of a Paper read by Professor GEDDES before the Sociological Society, October 15, 1912, Mr. P. J. Hartog in the chair.)

EACH age, with its view-point, has had its corresponding method of Greek studies, and profited by them accordingly. Witness the Renaissance in its learning and art, its philosophy and science; and in earlier times the mediæval university, the early Church, the Roman Empire. Witness again the nineteenth century with its philology, its excavations; while at present there are many freshening influences, and on various sides, from the poetic to the anthropologic interpretation of Hellas.

The standpoint here advocated towards this ever-fruitful inquiry into Hellenic culture and individuality is twofold, yet united—the standpoint of the working evolutionist, of interests both social and individual, and at once speculative and practical. These interests are no longer abstract and political, as of Society and Individual, but concrete and practical—of City and Citizen. For the study of cities claims to dominate that of their institutions, and of their personal types, as the whole is greater than the part. The science of Civics, and its corresponding art of city-making, are now in our day nascent. Hence as citizens—that is as city-lovers, city-makers—we are again, as of old, with Herodotus, observing the cities of the world; with Aristotle seeking not only the synoptic vision of each, but the comparison of all; with Plato, seeking the vision of the ideal city, the true republic. May we not thus come nearer the Greek city-state, nearer also to the individual and the creative thought of its citizens, than have intervening ages of a too cloistered and city-less scholarship? In proportion as our nascent science of Civics can discern the processes of a city's life, and the phases of their development, we shall the better re-interpret its records or excavations. Only as we recover the long-past tradition—and passion—of citizenship, and seek anew to build an Acropolis as fitting and worthy for our day as was that of old, shall we understand the Hellenic city-state.

To understand the mythology of a people, and its expressions in art and cult, in temple and in drama, in personality real and ideal, we are indeed helped by the anthropologist. But the study of Greek cities and temples is not one merely of origins—whether these be sought in the state of innocence or amid the strifes of savage passion. It is that of the most marvellous period of human evolution, both civic and individual, and into unique and supreme blossomings of thought and deed, into gods and heroes. Some more developed conception of life is surely needed beyond those customarily employed by naturalist and anthropologist. The student of life is turning from post-mortem examinations of forms and structures. As florist and breeder, he is actively considering the latencies of heredity, the potentialities of variation and the conceivable expression and enhancement of these towards perfection and beauty. All this for many species—even at length his own, the breeder thus hurrying onwards into eugenics, and the florist venturing into education. But such advancing aims involve

not merely the admission of a normal type for each species, but above and beyond this, the conception of a super-norm at yet unattained, it may be unattainable, yet to be striven towards. Visualised in the concrete, for our own species—that is, for both sexes, and for all their well-marked phases of development—this idealisation of human life presents us with more than a single superman at any one stage of existence. It likewise involves the recognition of all the high possibilities of their activity. But this is a veritable re-evocation of gods and muses : it is the return of the Olympians, the re-ascent of Parnassus.

Who then were the Olympians? Without disrespect to their anthropologic and poetic traditions, or to the scholarly discussion of these again in active progress, it is their organic and psychic essentials which here vitally concern us. For the Greek there developed what for us is again dawning in our ideals of eugenics and of education; for him vitally expressed in a vision of divinities—beings at once normal and ideal, human yet superhuman; and far beyond those earlier and simpler idealisations of occupation and place which were foreshadowed in Apollo the divine shepherd, the musician, the healer; in Athena of the olive, and Demeter of the corn. Goddesses and gods thus expressed each the ideal, or supernorm, of a phase of life. This vivid and creative intuition has since Greek days too much seemed but a mythological dream, but must none the less re-appear in evolutionary thought. Each goddess, each god, is the essential and characteristic, the logical and necessary, expression of the corresponding life-phase of Woman and of Man. Man as lover, idealist, poet, has ever created the goddesses. He worships each perfection of womanhood; he defers to her bright intuition, bows before her ready spear of woman's wit, and yields his apple to her compelling charm. Each in his turn a Paris has his three-fold vision; Aphrodite, Pallas, Hera, are no further to seek than of old. On either side arise other goddesses, of younger and of elder phase: there Artemis, the maid, still unawakened to sex, running free in nature, and Hebe, the winning and willing child; here again Demeter, ageing, saddened and grey, patient, helpful and wise.

So for her part woman creates her types of the gods: first the father, in patriarchal perfection as Zeus; next Apollo in whom manly perfection stands complete; then Eros, the babe of inmost longing. Between these appear Hermes, the boy-messenger, swift and eager; soon giving place to Dionysos, the youth awaking towards manhood, thrilling to woman, wine, and song. After Apollo, master of himself, comes Ares, armed and active in the struggle for existence: later Hephestos, with his mastery and skill, yet limited thereby. Seated now in their series, the Olympian Circle is complete. Its architectural and sculptural presentment necessarily follows: and fresh vividness comes into our interpretation of the plans of Athens and the Acropolis, of Olympus or Eleusis.

Nor does such detailed expression of divinity, in the phases of life, end with the Hellenic age. The Parthenon of Athens or Byzantium becomes the church of the Sacred Wisdom: in Cyprus Stella Maris again rises from the sea, and amid white doves as of old. The maiden immaculate re-appears and so Demeter with her sorrows; yet each more truly a phase of the changeful life of consummate womanhood. All the goddesses are resumed into the high succeeding faith; and for this too the Christmas babe, the boy seeking wisdom, the youth tempted, the good shepherd, express and yet more humanly the earlier phases of this enduringly human cycle; while the later phases—of warfare with evils, of bearing of



toil and suffering—become incomparably more divine. Finally, the interpretation of human individuals, first as normally in the image of the ideal of each of these phases of perfection, but next as actually fallen from it, may be traced out, and for each age, with no less graphic precision. For Eros we have too often the brat, and for Hermes the *gamin*; Dionysos becomes hooligan or Apache; Apollo falls to prig, and Ares to bully or worse. The drudge is the fallen image of Hephestos, and the tyrant or dotard of Zeus; and similarly for the various degradations of woman.

Returning now to the study of Civics, we see that just as the town-plans of ancient and sacred cities were determined by their temples, as institutes of ideal expression and of human development, so are those of our great towns—cities we cannot truly call them—by the corresponding environment needed for each type of degradation. Hence the slum, the ghetto; hence our squalor of factory and mine, our garish centres of debasing pleasures. Each is an inverted temple-precinct, and the nemesis of our lack of the corresponding worthier one. Yet with all this, the conclusion is far from wholly pessimistic. For again town-plans no less graphically suggest themselves, on which city and citizen may, as of old, develop together. But these, since depending for their character, not upon mere breadth of road, but rather upon its direction, and not upon mere magnitude and material purpose of edifices, but upon their ideals—are not as yet desired from town-planners.

## THE LATE MISS M. E. FINDLAY.

WE record with great regret the sudden death, on November 22nd last, of Miss Maria E. Findlay, who was associated with the Sociological Society from the beginning and for several years was an active member of the Council. The daughter of a Wesleyan minister, and the sister of the Professor of Education at Manchester University, Miss Findlay was known throughout the country as an ardent educational reformer. She took her degree at the University of London, and spent her early maturity in high-school teaching. A keen interest in the psychological aspects of education, at that time much rarer than it is now, led her to resign her post in order to make a closer study of the subject. After three years as head of the City High School, Montreal, she went to the United States, continued her studies under Professor Stanley Hall and Professor Dewey, greatly enjoying "the stir of philosophic and practical interest in matters educational" then at its height in America. Becoming, in 1898, Lecturer and Organiser of Method at the Froebel Institute, West Kensington, Miss Findlay spent her later years chiefly in devoted work for the Institute and for the National Froebel Union as a member of its governing body. During the last ten years of her life Miss Findlay organised several very successful summer schools, and at the time of her unexpected death (she seemed to have recovered completely from a long illness) was busy organising yet another for the ensuing summer. Her colleague Miss E. E. Lawrence, who contributes to *Child Life* an appreciation to which we are indebted for the facts of this notice, mentions as characteristic of Miss Findlay's shunning of personal distinction and advancement the fact that after her death there was found among her papers a notification that so long ago as 1897 an American University had conferred upon her the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy which honour she had never spoken of to her friends.

## REVIEWS.

## THE GREEK COMMONWEALTH.

THE GREEK COMMONWEALTH: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens. By A. E. Zimmern. Clarendon Press, 1911. 8/6 net.

It is the peculiar mark of the greatness of the Greek genius that each generation one after another insists on having its own interpretation of the message of Hellenism, of finding out for itself what the Greeks were really like. To every age the Greeks seem modern, and as different generations find themselves faced with new problems they turn, and not in vain, to Greece for inspiration. Mr. Zimmern in his preface says that his purpose in writing this book was to make clear to himself "what Greek life was really like." He goes on to insist that "neither an individual nor a nation can be properly understood without a knowledge of their surroundings and means of support—in other words, of their geographical and economic conditions." We are all learning the importance of geography and economics in history and the life of society. In the last few decades a great deal of information has been amassed on Greek economic conditions. Mr. Zimmern's aim has been to put it together and see what kind of vision of Greek life it gives us. In his preface indeed he adds a word of warning. It is of no avail to apply economic interpretation to history if we imagine that economic conditions have always been the same. It is essential to realise how entirely different the economic basis of Greek society was from the conditions to which we are accustomed. Much of the book is spent in insisting on this.

No man can describe the Greeks of the fifth century as they really were, for every man will be looking for different things. But Mr. Zimmern's picture is one of the most enlightening accounts of the fifth century that has ever been written. Familiar passages in well-known authors like Thucydides and Plato are by Mr. Zimmern lit up with new meaning. He brings to bear on his subject not only an accurate knowledge of Greek authors and of archæology, but a wide sympathy with all phases of modern life. He does not read modern into Greek conditions, but lets us see now how some things, *e.g.*, the effect of the permanent geographical conditions, are eternally the same, now how in others the modern contrasts with the ancient. Greek history is interpreted to us by the trained sociologist, and the quotations from such writers as Miss Jane Addams, the insight into modern conditions and sympathy with modern problems which come out in every line of the book, have not confused the picture but brought all its outlines into sharp relief. Whatever else may be said of the book, it is fascinating reading. No one will willingly put it down before he has finished it, nor without feeling that he has gained greater insight not only into Greece of the fifth century but into modern industrial England. The book as a piece of writing is indeed so interesting as to excite suspicions that it cannot also be scholarly and accurate. Many accurate scholars are so dull that we tend to think that dullness and scholarship go together. But Mr. Zimmern's book on examination rebuts the suspicion.

There may be definite mistakes, though the present reviewer has found few, but if there are they will be the mistakes of a scholar. Sometimes indeed where the evidence is doubtful Mr. Zimmern has plumped for the view he considers more probable. That must be done by one who is trying to give a picture.

The book is divided into three parts—Geography, Politics, and Economics. The first, which consists of four short chapters, is perhaps the most brilliant part of the book. The main features of Greece and the Mediterranean in their effect upon life are most admirably described. We can imagine conservative scholars shaking their heads over some of the latter part of the book. They could find no fault with the first.

The second part is an admirable account of Greek politics, inspired with a keen sense for reality in politics, and with a knowledge of the effect upon politics of an open-air life of a society when all are equals socially and not only in theory. Mr. Zimmern really lets us see how Greek democracy worked. At the same time it is difficult not to feel that his picture of Greek political life is too rosy. He writes as though the words of the funeral oration were sober fact, as though all the ordinary Athenians lived up to that glorious ideal. An honest unimaginative reader of Herodotus and Thucydides might fail to appreciate the high ideals which did inspire much of Greek life, but he would not be entirely wrong in his feeling that these historians seemed to be writing about a very treacherous unpatriotic people. Love and hate often go together. The Greeks could rise to extraordinary heights of both in public life. Politics in the small city ruled by an active public opinion was far more intense than modern politics. Yet they were not so uniformly better as Mr. Zimmern's description suggests. To take a small point where the author seems only to have given us the bright side of the picture, in describing the working of the jury courts in Athens, he says:—"So far as we know they did their work very well: amid much grumbling on other matters, no complaint on the score of corruption or unfairness in individual cases has come down to us." This statement is not literally true. Anytus, the accuser of Socrates, was said to have bribed the jury in 409, when he was tried for his failure in a naval expedition. But, apart from that, Mr. Zimmern refers only vaguely to "much grumbling in other matters." It would surely have been more profitable to have explained the defects of the Athenian dicasteries which are seen clearly in the development of Greek jurisprudence.

The third part on Economics is the longest part of the book, and is full of good things. The chapters on Poverty, Warfare, Craftsmen and Workmen are especially to be commended. The following passage is selected from many that are worth quoting:—

"We think of the Greeks as the pioneers of civilization and unconsciously credit them with the material blessings and comforts in which we moderns have been taught, and are trying to teach Asiatics and Africans to think that civilization consists. We forget that they were more innocent of most of these than the up-country Greek of to-day, or than most Englishmen were before the Industrial Revolution. It is easy to think away railways and telegraphs and gasworks and tea and advertisements and bananas. But we must put off far more than this. We must imagine houses without drains, beds without sheets or springs, rooms as cold or as hot as the open air, only draughtier, meals that began and ended with pudding, and cities that could boast neither gentry nor millionaires. We must learn to tell the time without watches, to

cross rivers without bridges, and seas without a compass, to fasten our clothes (or rather our two pieces of cloth) with two pins instead of rows of buttons, to wear our shoes or sandals without stockings, to warm ourselves over a pot of ashes, to study poetry without books, geography without maps and politics without newspapers. In a word, we must learn to be civilized without being comfortable."

In the preface Mr. Zimmern says something of the need of explanation as to the attitude he has adopted towards Plato and Aristotle. That is indeed the most unsatisfactory thing, perhaps the only unsatisfactory thing, in the book. His defence is that "they only knew the city's state in the days of its decline, and their view of it is coloured by their own personal ideas and doctrines." It is true that Plato and Aristotle are writing after the great failure of Athens, but after all that failure was a fact, and they are surely to some extent "wise after the event." Mr. Zimmern must either assert that Aristotle was a hopelessly prejudiced witness or that the fourth century political life was entirely different from the fifth. Neither of these propositions is easy to defend. Things changed for the worse in the fourth century, but they did not become unrecognisably different. In his very interesting chapter on slavery Mr. Zimmern accuses Aristotle of inconsistency for suggesting that slaves should be set free. The charge has been made before, but we venture to think that if Mr. Zimmern had read Aristotle with anything like the same sympathy that he has bestowed on Thucydides he would have seen that there is nothing in it. He says in the preface that he had intended to write a section dealing fully with Plato and Aristotle. It is much to be hoped that he will be able some time to fulfil this intention. It would be tempting to set forth at greater length the arguments against Mr. Zimmern's attitude, but that would be giving too great an appearance of dissent from the book as a whole. It is a book to be received with admiration and thankfulness.

A. D. LINDSAY.

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF VERNON LEE.

VITAL LIES. By Vernon Lee. London: John Lane, 1912. Two volumes. 10/- net.

THESE two volumes are entirely controversial in character, and controversy is, of its essence, arid and unproductive; useful, in the rare cases when pure controversy is useful, just as the surgeon's knife is useful when rightly applied; mischievous or tiresome in other instances. The question then in regard to such work as lies before us, is, first, whether the surgeon's knife was needed, and, secondly, whether it has been skilfully and successfully applied. As to the vigour of its application there can be no doubt; up and down, in and out, through upwards of four hundred pages, Vernon Lee pursues the writers whom she has selected for attack; and even when she tells us, towards the close of the second volume, that she is about to give us a rough sketch of her own philosophy, the argumentative humour again gets possession of her, and she starts once more in pursuit of her chosen foes.

In the first volume she deals with Pragmatism as represented by Professor James or Dr. Schiller, and Modernism as represented by Father Tyrrell; in the second we have a somewhat startling transition to Mr. Ernest Crawley and M. Georges Sorel; but this heterogeneous company is



gathered together as consisting of men who, each in his own way, supports some system of "vital lies"—so termed from an expression in one of Ibsen's plays. As to M. Bergson, he is shot at from time to time in a playful manner, in various sections of the work. The vital lie in Pragmatism is the "will to believe"; in Modernism it is "the will to continue to believe"; in "Anthropological Apologetics" it is "the will to make others believe"; in the hands of M. Georges Sorel the vital lie is a deliberate myth, employed for its social utility.

Before touching on her treatment of Pragmatism and Modernism we may remark that Vernon Lee has fallen into a serious, though perhaps not rare, controversial vice in her tendency to suspect motives, where motives should not be in question. Criticism has to deal with the work in front of it, and not to leave its course to suggest what may be the feelings of the writers, or to impute to them a *parti pris* attitude, unless such an attitude be obvious and also inductive of some vice in their philosophy. Hence one somewhat resents such remarks as: "When we complete the quotation from Prof. James's *Pragmatism* we find that what he recommends to us in his farewell flourish of self-advertisement," etc. (vol. i, p. 48); or, in regard to Mr. Crawley: "The book is evidently written for other kinds of—I scarcely know whether believer or unbelievers" (vol. ii, p. 21).

Turning now to the main theme of the book, its indictment of Pragmatism and of Modernism, we look, as we have a right to do, for a criticism based on the nature of the subjects in question, but find that the chief accusation brought against these systems of psychology and spiritual philosophy is that, being tentative, they are not final; and that, using as they do other methods than those of purely physical science, they issue also in another kind of knowledge. "The will to believe," writes Vernon Lee, "even the right to believe, is indeed invoked in the obscure problems of the relation between body and soul; but we are not referred to it for solutions of the problems of chemistry or physics" (vol. i, p. 35). Certainly not, since the will to believe, as understood by Professor James, bears a relation to the inward spiritual life of man which it does not bear to chemical observation. Again, the will to believe is regarded throughout the book as a will unreasoning and unreasonable, a will of mere liking and choice; whereas no serious student of Pragmatism could fail to see that, whatever the scientific value of this criterion of truth may be, it is to be understood as an act of the whole being, not excluding the reasoning power itself. Vernon Lee seems to think that, in some unexplained manner, we get outside ourselves in the apprehension of truth while we remain strictly self-enclosed in our apprehension of goodness—a kindred fallacy to her exaltation of the sense of sight over the other senses. The Pragmatist realises that as man, seeking goodness or happiness, remains man in his apprehension of either, so man seeking truth remains human in his conception of it. He does not deny the objective or the absolute in either, but he does not try to jump out of his own skin to reach them. Father Tyrrell was sounder in his sympathetic criticism of the system when he wrote:—

"We deny moralism and sentimentalism as well as intellectualism. Life is the test and criterion of truth as serviceableness is of any instrument. But it does not follow that whatever is immediately or apparently useful to life is truly so, and therefore true. Nor does truth belong *per prius* to particular propositions, but to the whole mind or world-scheme with which such particulars cohere, and which they involve

or imply. . . . Far from abandoning metaphysics, to deduce it from life and conduct, rather than from notions and concepts, is to place it for the first time on a firm basis, and to give it that interest which attaches to every study that bears, however, remotely, on life and action." (*Pragmatism*—"Through Scylla and Charybdis.")

In her estimate of Father Tyrrell and Modernism Vernon Lee confines herself to one alone of Tyrrell's works—"Christianity at the Cross Roads." This posthumous volume deals chiefly with two points: (1) the relation of Liberal Catholicism and Newmanism to traditional theology; and (2) the question of eschatology, and of the personality of Christ as it emerges from an acceptance of the main lines of the eschatological theory. Whatever value the book possesses is to be found mainly in its treatment of these two themes. Vernon Lee refers to neither of them, but seeks in this work the fallacy she has set out to denounce as another form of "vital lie." Her criticism is based on so slender a study of Father Tyrrell's writings that it is somewhat lacking in weight; and here, as in the matter of Pragmatism, she is haunted by the suspicion that these men are seeking obscurity for its own sake; are pulling down the shutter at an awkward moment and continuing the work in the dark. If such were the case one can only wonder why they did not pull it down a good deal sooner, before the difficulties became patent. Has it not occurred to their critic that, like the plainest men of science, they have had to grope when they could not see; and that, in this, they have not been different from the pioneers of material knowledge? Yet as Columbus was certain of the existence of the New World before he reached it, so they may be certain of spiritual realities not yet clearly provable.

The question, in fact, is not whether we have a right to employ imagination and instinct and feeling as well as reason in the pursuit of truth, but whether we can possibly avoid doing so. In her last chapters we find Vernon Lee herself acknowledging the influence of a *Deus fortior me*, and attaching "a kind of religious importance and use" to our thoughts of a Beyond—"of an existence infinitely transcending our own." Do we reach this idea of a Beyond by pure reasoning alone, or also by other faculties which, while not unreasonable, rooted in the same mind that reasons? And is not the whole of this book, in spite of many charming pages when the author comes to ground more properly her own, just one more of the last dying kicks of a scientific materialism whose formula was, in the plain words of the plain—but not unassuming—man in the street, "Seein's believin' "?

Yet in so far as Vernon Lee may provoke those whom she criticises, or their followers, to make ever more strenuous efforts to remove any not inevitable obscurity in their methods of exposition, or any real vices in their reasoning, her work will have its use.

M. D. PETRE.

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BEAUTY AND UGLINESS: and other Studies in Psychological Æsthetics. By Vernon Lee and C. Anstruther-Thomson. London: John Lane, 1912. 12/6 net.

THE theory which this book announces is a variant of one first formulated by Prof. Lipps in order to explain the emotions experienced in contemplating not merely works of art, but any of the shapes, the linear outlines whether

in nature or handicraft, that have æsthetic quality, that are pleasing or unpleasing to regard. According to Prof. Lipps there is in some sense a re-enactment of the contemplated form (as an expression of energy) by us, a following of the lines, a sympathy with the direction and effort of the thing as coming into being (if only into our own consciousness) and, in fine, an imaginative filling of the form and an attribution to it of our own mental modes and our own sense of intra-organic reactions of various kinds. To this identification of oneself with the contemplated form—say, with the rise or upthrust of a Doric column and then its resilient endurance in meeting the down-coming mass—Prof. Lipps has given the name *Ästhetische Einfühlung*, which Titchener has translated as *Æsthetic Empathy*. Now, neither Vernon Lee nor her collaborator knew anything about Lipps and his theory when, as the outcome of a long series of psycho-physical self-observations, they promulgated, in an essay on *Beauty and Ugliness* (published in 1897 and now imbedded in this book), a theory so nearly identical with his as to be chargeable with heresy. Nor were they the only Wallaces to this Darwin (the comparison is Vernon Lee's) for there cropped up about the same time Prof. Groos with his theory of Mimicry or *Innere Nachahmung*, to say nothing of others, from whom they received a certain amount of suggestion: which did not, however, bring them nearer to the truth than their own uninfluenced observations might have carried them, but rather the reverse. It is indeed mainly through the reiterated discussion of points of difference with Groos and James and Lange and their former selves—and even with the Master, Lipps, who frowns upon these disciples and moves a little further off—that the theme is developed at all and the theory presented in a formless way.

Heroically amended, it remains a variant of the Lipps theory, and a purified form of their own first view. The difference lies in excluding the crude element of physical re-enactment and in claiming "a purely mental or psychic character" for the process described as æsthetic empathy. Of course the author is perfectly aware of the dangerous commitments of such a phrase, and uses it as a good psycho-physicist may, in a yielding sense. The distinction here and now has the validity of being useful, and she does a great deal with it or adumbrates a great deal that might be done. For one thing—and let this avail as the needful apology for a notice in these pages—she seems to bring æsthetics within the purview of sociology in a new way, by relating it to the æonal tradition of human well-being, to those moments and modes of the individual and the social mind that have been most nutritive and furthering and that have held most of transmissible value.

W.M.

#### AN AMERICAN PUBLICIST.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD (1847—1903): A Biography. By Caro Lloyd.  
2 vols. London: Putnam's Sons, 1912. 21/- net.

OF Henry Demarest Lloyd we may say with a warrant that he was born a reformer, his vocation having been determined for him by a numerous conspiracy of ancestors. On both sides of his family he came of a long line of protesting and insurgent generations. In addition to the resistant distillations—not exclusively religious in their reactions—from Dutch Reformed, French Huguenot, and Welsh Dissenting forbears, there were promptings of sheerly secular militancy passed down to him by the family-stock whence Washington sprang, and by the less honoured strain of the

regicide Goffe, in which also he partook. As if to complete the tokens of his calling to a life of social protest, he entered the world on May Day 1847. Possibly May Day 1848 would have been more satisfactory, as being more conclusively symbolical; yet it is of the essence of such a man to be before his time.

The period of his country's history in which he was called to play his part may be described as that of the Birth of the Beasts. After the Civil War, business in America began to take on a new character. The 'cuteness and push of earlier times, a quality of ordinary individuals seeking no very inordinate ends, and seeking them in a world of equally moderate competitors, began to be replaced by a craft and science of appropriation and management—in all senses of that dubious term—continental in ambition and aggressiveness. The period up to the 'eighties witnessed the first stage of the movement: the growth of the great monopolies, especially in transportation and mining. It was the grand era of railway, silver, and other "kings"; for whom claims were conventionally made as creators of wealth, pioneers of national development. Upon this Lloyd remarked, so early as 1881, in the *Chicago Tribune*:—

"The methods by which the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Fields, Rockefellers, Mackays, Floods, O'Briens, and the coal and iron and salt pashas are heaping up enormous fortunes are methods, not of creation of wealth, but of the redistribution of the wealth of the masses into the pockets of monopolists."

As the result of the king-making process soon appeared, at certain points, to threaten the enslavement of Labour (as well as the less obvious exploitation of the people at large) the workmen combined for their own defence, and fought one or two indecisive fights which are quite historical. From these conflicts the New Capitalism emerged with a clarified sense of its own isolation and power as an anti-social interest in the midst of society, and proceeded to strengthen itself further against Labour and the nation alike. Taking a lesson from Labour, it formed vast combines, in which the parties clubbed their interests that they might the more easily club the great body of the public later on, beginning with the *corpora vilia* of the men who did the honest and useful part of their work. This second stage of the process—the formation of trusts for the control of every kind of commodity, service, and even negotiable value—went on with immense acceleration during the 'nineties, and had virtually completed its work in the United States by the century's close. Since then it has been preparing for its grand advance upon the Old World—same men, same methods, same morals—and has already arrived in London in considerable force.

Such, in briefest outline, is the situation to which H. D. Lloyd's life-work had reference. He was almost the first to perceive the coming change, to diagnose the social character of the New Capitalism, and to give warning of its possibilities of growth and power. The course of years progressively verified all his forecasts; and when he died in 1903 it might well have seemed that his lifetime of battling with the Beasts had only served to register the continuous increase of their bulk and vigour. It had certainly done that. But, unawares even to himself, it had also done something else. It had contributed more potently than any other life of the time towards the making of the Next America: the America in which mind and morals shall have overtaken those precocious material develop-

ments and possibilities of manipulation which had found the social intelligence and the social conscience unprepared, and so outran their control for a time. This contribution he made by the whole activities of a life that was as valiantly and variously intellectual as its purposes were pure and its conduct chivalrous to friends and foes.

On the intellectual side, there is enough in these volumes (especially in the extracts from unfinished MSS.) to show that he was a profound and imaginative thinker, who needed only a longer life to have given to the world some classic of reflection or prophecy. But the chivalrous strain in him, the generosity which would not let him be at ease while wrong was being done, drove his pen along other lines throughout most of his lifetime. The larger quantity and perhaps the greater part his writings had to do with his militant social work of warning and impeachment. Only two under this heading may be named here. His article on the Standard Oil Trust ("The Story of a Great Monopoly," March 1881) was a startling revelation of the new power in the market, and awoke his countrymen, as by an explosion, to a consciousness of what was happening around them. It was not sensational—he never wrote, one may say, a sensational line in his life—but it quickly sold out seven editions of that month's *Atlantic Monthly*: a thing unprecedented. An ampler treatment of the same theme was his *magnum opus* "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1894), a damnatory and conclusive indictment to which no reply was ever attempted. None was possible, since the book was mainly a record of judicial findings by which the gigantic monopoly stood condemned. It might have been thought, and he seems to have expected, that the book would inaugurate the swift overthrow of the evil thing. It produced, apparently, no effect whatever, practical or moral; whereat he was disappointed, almost bitterly for a moment. In this he was wrong, and ought to have known that things do not happen so: that social causation rarely works in that direct way, or along a single line, towards any great end. Such a book as his could not do its work till it had been passed by. It is now beginning to do it.

Turning, about 1896, from the work of exposure, he looked around the world for any "social inventions" in which might be detected, perhaps, the first glimmer of a brighter day. He found assurance of that in the Co-partnership (Labour and Housing) movement of this country, in the democratic legislation of New Zealand, and in the working of the Referendum and Initiative in Switzerland. On each of these topics he produced a book, entirely in the spirit of one transmitting aid, or telling good tidings, or bringing to the knowledge of his countrymen a valuable life-making product which is theirs to use. As a young publicist he had (as became a good American) spoken with confident disparagement of Socialism and Co-operation alike. His faith was then in political action. But he moved steadily towards the view, which finally became a deep moral conviction, that socialism and co-operation were the two principles—mutually supplementary and mutually corrective—by whose union the society of the future would be organised and kept sound. He was never an official socialist, having been withheld by a reluctance to come to terms with any movement of which class antagonism was the formula and the fuel. This feature in Marxian Socialism (the only or predominant Socialism of America) he instinctively shrank from, but owned that had he been an Englishman he would have been a Fabian.

Yet perhaps the best of the man is given in the chapters which record his direct relation with affairs. Early and late, in all the famous labour



regicide Goffe, in which also he partook. As if to complete the tokens of his calling to a life of social protest, he entered the world on May Day 1847. Possibly May Day 1848 would have been more satisfactory, as being more conclusively symbolical; yet it is of the essence of such a man to be before his time.

The period of his country's history in which he was called to play his part may be described as that of the Birth of the Beasts. After the Civil War, business in America began to take on a new character. The 'cuteness and push of earlier times, a quality of ordinary individuals seeking no very inordinate ends, and seeking them in a world of equally moderate competitors, began to be replaced by a craft and science of appropriation and management—in all senses of that dubious term—continental in ambition and aggressiveness. The period up to the 'eighties witnessed the first stage of the movement: the growth of the great monopolies, especially in transportation and mining. It was the grand era of railway, silver, and other "kings"; for whom claims were conventionally made as creators of wealth, pioneers of national development. Upon this Lloyd remarked, so early as 1881, in the *Chicago Tribune*:—

"The methods by which the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Fields, Rockefellers, Mackays, Floods, O'Briens, and the coal and iron and salt pashas are heaping up enormous fortunes are methods, not of creation of wealth, but of the redistribution of the wealth of the masses into the pockets of monopolists."

As the result of the king-making process soon appeared, at certain points, to threaten the enslavement of Labour (as well as the less obvious exploitation of the people at large) the workmen combined for their own defence, and fought one or two indecisive fights which are quite historical. From these conflicts the New Capitalism emerged with a clarified sense of its own isolation and power as an anti-social interest in the midst of society, and proceeded to strengthen itself further against Labour and the nation alike. Taking a lesson from Labour, it formed vast combines, in which the parties clubbed their interests that they might the more easily club the great body of the public later on, beginning with the *corpora villa* of the men who did the honest and useful part of their work. This second stage of the process—the formation of trusts for the control of every kind of commodity, service, and even negotiable value—went on with immense acceleration during the 'nineties, and had virtually completed its work in the United States by the century's close. Since then it has been preparing for its grand advance upon the Old World—same men, same methods, same morals—and has already arrived in London in considerable force.

Such, in briefest outline, is the situation to which H. D. Lloyd's life-work had reference. He was almost the first to perceive the coming change, to diagnose the social character of the New Capitalism, and to give warning of its possibilities of growth and power. The course of years progressively verified all his forecasts; and when he died in 1903 it might well have seemed that his lifetime of battling with the Beasts had only served to register the continuous increase of their bulk and vigour. It had certainly done that. But, unawares even to himself, it had also done something else. It had contributed more potently than any other life of the time towards the making of the Next America: the America in which mind and morals shall have overtaken those precocious material develop-

ments and possibilities of manipulation which had found the social intelligence and the social conscience unprepared, and so outran their control for a time. This contribution he made by the whole activities of a life that was as valiantly and variously intellectual as its purposes were pure and its conduct chivalrous to friends and foes.

On the intellectual side, there is enough in these volumes (especially in the extracts from unfinished MSS.) to show that he was a profound and imaginative thinker, who needed only a longer life to have given to the world some classic of reflection or prophecy. But the chivalrous strain in him, the generosity which would not let him be at ease while wrong was being done, drove his pen along other lines throughout most of his lifetime. The larger quantity and perhaps the greater part his writings had to do with his militant social work of warning and impeachment. Only two under this heading may be named here. His article on the Standard Oil Trust ("The Story of a Great Monopoly," March 1881) was a startling revelation of the new power in the market, and awoke his countrymen, as by an explosion, to a consciousness of what was happening around them. It was not sensational—he never wrote, one may say, a sensational line in his life—but it quickly sold out seven editions of that month's *Atlantic Monthly*: a thing unprecedented. An ampler treatment of the same theme was his *magnum opus* "Wealth Against Commonwealth" (1894), a damnatory and conclusive indictment to which no reader was ever attached.

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with any movement of which class antagonism was the formula and the fuel. This feature in Marxian Socialism (the only or predominant Socialism of America) he instinctively shrank from, but owned that had he been an Englishman he would have been a Fabian.

Yet perhaps the best of the man is given in the chapters which record his direct relation with affairs. Early and late, in all the famous labour

incidents of his time in America, he expended himself tirelessly in efforts on behalf of the workers: to help win their battles when they came out to fight, to secure justice where they were oppressed, and to procure mercy where (as in the affair of the "Chicago Anarchists") some of them seemed to be in fault. He was under no delusion as to the human faultiness and the social limitations of any class of men; but the passion of brotherhood moved in him with the buoyancy of an ocean tide, making him the lover of all, and only therefore the accuser of some. A man of ample means himself, and no advocate for the abolition of the middle or any other decently-behaving class, he was yet emphatically on the side of the under dog. "The working man may often be *wrong*," he said; "but his side is always the *right side*." A saying which in the mouth of a politician would mean manifest dishonesty and claptrap; but which, informed and qualified by the whole mind and morals of a man like H. D. Lloyd, expresses a profound and incontrovertible philosophical truth.

W. MACDONALD.

#### A SOCIOLOGIST IN SOUTH AMERICA.

SOUTH AMERICA: Observations and Impressions. By The Right Hon.

James Bryce. Macmillan and Co. 8/6 net.

OF conventional records of travel there are two kinds—books of fact and books of general view. The ideal, clearly, is to combine the merits and eliminate the defects of both types, by selecting the significant facts and showing their significance by your interpretation of them. Now facts are significant just in proportion as they can be observed and interpreted as illustrative survivals of old social processes, or as exemplary tendencies of new ones. Mr. Bryce's book on South America is a revelation of what can be done in interpretative observation by the practised eye and the experienced mind of the world traveller, during a rapid journey through a continent. By way of sample take the chapter on Argentina—the only one of the seventeen chapters which the reviewer's personal experience enables him to test by a scale of reference at once extensive and intensive, contemporaneous and—in a measure—historical. In this chapter the reader is presented with a vivid series of pictures exhibiting the Land, the People, and their Mode of Life. The pictures articulate into a cinematograph-like presentation of the living Present—a vision revealed to us by the traveller who is also artist and scientist. But the Past out of which the living Present has emerged is recalled and presented in clear and vivid outline—the creation of a historian, who is also man of affairs and statesman. Finally comes the turn of the interpreter, who is also something of poet and prophet. It is his insight that discovers those tendencies, which out of the present are shaping the future. It is the interpreter's courage no less than his foresight that gives power to lift a corner of the veil. So far for the author's method. For the resultant in record and in literature, the reader must of course be referred to the book itself—which, apart from its scientific value, is fascinating as narrative. But the closing passage of the chapter on the Argentine lends itself well to illustrative citation:—

"Loitering in the great Avenida de Mayo and watching the hurrying crowd and the whirl of motor cars, and the gay shop-windows, and the open-air cafés on the sidewalks, and the Parisian glitter of the women's dresses, one feels much nearer to Europe than anywhere else in South America. Bolivia suggests the seventeenth century and Peru the

eighteenth, and even in energetic Chile there is an air of the elder time, and a soothing sense of detachment. But here all is twentieth century, with suggestions of the twenty-first. Yet, modern as they are, and reminding one sometimes of the gaiety of Paris and sometimes of the stir and hurry of Kansas City, the Argentines are essentially unlike either Europeans or North Americans. To say in what the difference consists is all the harder because one doubts whether there yet exists a definite Argentine type. They have ceased to be Spaniards without becoming something new of their own. They seem to be a nation in the making, not yet made. Elements more than half of which are Spanish and Basque, and one-third of which are Italian, are all being shaken up together and beginning to mix and fuse under conditions not before seen in South American life. That which will emerge, if more Spanish than Italian in blood, will be entirely South American in sentiment and largely French in its ways of thinking, for from France come the intellectual influences that chiefly play upon it. It will spring from new conditions and new forces, acting on people who have left all their traditions and many of their habits behind them, and have retained but little of that religion which was the strongest of all powers in their former home. Men now living may see this nation, what with its growing numbers and its wealth, take rank beside France, Italy, and Spain. It may be, in the New World, the head and champion of what are called the Latin races. Will the artistic and literary genius of Italy, France, and Spain flower again in their transplanted descendants, now that they seem to have at last emerged from those long civil wars and revolutions which followed their separation from Spain? The very magnitude of the interests which any fresh civil wars would endanger furnishes a security against their recurrence, and the temper of the people seems entirely disposed to internal peace. No race or colour questions have arisen, and religious questions have ceased to vex them. They have an agricultural area still undeveloped which for fifty years to come will be large enough both to attract immigrants and to provide for the needs of their own citizens. Seldom has Nature lavished gifts upon a people with a more bountiful hand."

Of a book so accurate in its observations, so penetrative in its interpretations, so charming in its style, it is easy to predict a long life and many editions. One would like to see, in a subsequent edition, a reference to the thesis of the late Colonel Church, that in a comparison of the economic history of North and South America, the geographical factor was the essential and determinative one. Colonel Church contrasted the southern continent walled in by an almost unclimbable fence broken by but four gateways, and on the other, the northern continent open to easy access on three sides. In the respective difficulties and facilities of ingress and egress to the interior of the two continents, Colonel Church found a factor which in subsequent history and development dominated all other influences.

V.V.B.

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#### THE ENGLAND OF YESTERDAY.

A MODERN HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By R. H. Gretton. Vol. I, 1880—1898. London: Grant Richards. 7/6 net.

THERE is justification for the claim made on behalf of Mr. Gretton's book, that it differs in important respects from the work of other historians of

their own times. "I have inquired into all matters among us," said Burnet when entering upon his famous account of the Revolution period; but in point of fact the good bishop treated the social and ethical aspects of his subject as appropriate, not to the body of his history, but to the concluding homily. Later English writers, though they have widened their range, have still taken for granted that history has only to do with what are commonly styled public affairs. Mr. Herbert Paul, it is true, gives much space to intellectual influences; but perhaps Harriet Martineau, in her *History of the Thirty Years' Peace*, comes nearest, among those who have dealt with their own times, to a sociological view of the historian's function, for she brought within her scope such matters as crime and the poor law, industrial development and public health, religion and the Press. With Sir Spencer Walpole, a half-century later, we are back again in the old atmosphere, and Mr. Justin McCarthy's useful chronicle confines itself chiefly to politics, except when the death of a representative man or woman gives him the opportunity of summing up a literary or artistic career. With Mr. McCarthy social changes were noteworthy merely in relation to parliamentary measures or to the career of prominent politicians.

Mr. Gretton's way is very different. Beginning with 1880, a year which marks an epoch hardly less clearly than 1688 or 1832, he has to treat of public events which were certainly not unimportant, but his attention is taken up in at least equal degree with the rapid transformation of English life that is first observable in the eighties. The changes that he has to record "concerned political ideas, social habits, and commercial methods, religious outlook and material equipment, education and the housekeeper's supplies, keeping of holidays and furnishing of houses, philosophical speculation and the pursuits of a clerk's Saturday afternoons." No one at this late day will deny that such things are part of the real life of the people, and it is good to have them considered in their social significance, especially in a book which is designed to give the average reader a notion of all the forces which have gone to the shaping of present-day England. Hence, along with summaries of national politics and such impressive phenomena of the passing generation as the break with outworn political formulas, the creation of vast industrial combinations, and the growth of Socialism, we get countless acute paragraphs, skilfully woven into the narrative, on matters like the introduction of colonial meat and of coster songs, the spread of the cigarette or golfing habit, the extension of departmental stores, the advent of Mr. Kipling and Ranjitsinhji, the establishment of the Kelmscott Press, the extradition of Jumbo. The question of proportion of course comes in, and Mr. Gretton is probably prepared for the criticism that now and again he is tempted to put undue emphasis upon a trifling event or momentary expression of popular feeling.

Such instances, however, are few, and the book gives a vivid and informing picture of the two decades which divide the fall of Lord Beaconsfield from the outbreak of the South African War. Mr. Gretton has a light and rapid style, a happy gift of narrative and of grouping, together with a detachment of mind which enables him to present without bias events and characters still capable of provoking keen partisanship. The rule adopted, of one year one chapter, is an obvious chronological convenience, although it may at times hamper the author in handling a clearly defined movement or series of events. Here and there also, it leads him to attach a label of little meaning to a particular year. Why, for example, should 1881 be noted as especially remarkable for common-sense, or 1883 as a year of



ground-swell? No similar objection, however, can be made to the description of 1895 as a return to safe ground: and one finds oneself in cordial agreement with Mr. Gretton in his interpretation of the Liberal rout of that year, as, apart from purely political tendencies, a declaration of bourgeois hostility and fright against all kinds of subversive forces then for the first time becoming militant. Mr. Gretton, indeed, would seem to be of opinion that in the Conservative triumph in the election of 1895 the social historian may trace the effects of Aubrey Beardsley and Oscar Wilde hardly less than those of local veto and the Harcourt budget.

Less than 450 pages are at Mr. Gretton's disposal for his first volume, so that he has had to be severe in selection and compression and, inevitably, the critical reader finds himself challenged in every chapter, by the omissions no less than by the statements of fact or opinion. After a careful reading the present reviewer is inclined to think that the most serious omission is that of religious activity. Mr. Gretton takes account of the ritual controversy and prosecutions and other matters in the religious world, but he gives no indication whatever of the very important part played in English life by the Nonconformist bodies, orthodox and otherwise. A fair number of pages are devoted to the agencies of popular culture, but the astonishing spread of free public libraries is not recorded. Mr. Carnegie's appearance, in 1880, as a donor in this field is noted, but no mention is made of Passmore Edwards, the eruption of whose institutions was a feature of the period. Passmore Edwards, by the bye, was the proprietor of *The Echo*, which, and not *The Star*, as we are told (p. 240), was the first halfpenny evening paper in London. *The Echo* had been running just twenty years when *The Star* made its appearance. Mr. Gretton is an experienced and accomplished journalist, but, curiously enough, his references to the Press are in several instances inaccurate or deficient. Thus, the name of one of the two halfpenny morning journals started together in 1892 is incorrectly given (it was *The Morning*), and we find no mention of the foundation of *Tit-Bits* and the early activities of Sir George Newnes, which preceded by several years the enterprises of Lord Northcliffe and prepared the way for the torrent of papers for the million. The establishment of *Justice* (1884) is recorded; but in the history of the Labour movement is not the starting of *The Clarion*, with the astounding vogue of Mr. Blatchford's *Merrie England*, a more significant event? In this connection, too, the absence of W. T. Stead's name is worthy of remark. Mr. Gretton notes the beginning, in the eighties, of the agitation for a larger Navy, but he omits the share in the movement taken by Stead, which was certainly decisive; nor does he refer to that wildest of newspaper sensations, "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." The social work of the Salvation Army is, quite properly, given its place, but the statement (p. 281) that *In Darkest England* was written by General Booth is inaccurate. It was written for the head of the Salvation Army by Stead. The creation, by Mr. J. T. Grein, of the Independent Theatre Company, is rightly included among the happenings of 1891; but a more resounding event, of a year or two earlier, is passed over—the production of *A Doll's House*, with the accompanying tempest of anti-Ibsen fury. Mr. Gretton is careful to note the importance of climatic influences in English public life, and he duly notes the good or bad summers and winters. We find, however, no mention of the historic blizzard of January 1881, the severest for half-a-century, or of the remarkable heat and drought of 1893. The important subject of dietary is not forgotten, but it is surely incorrect to say that before 1880 vegetables were a luxury in English cities and mutton

a rarity on middle-class tables? Mr. Gretton mentions the coffee-tavern movement among the working-classes, but not the extraordinary multiplication of tea shops, which has worked a revolution in the habits of the middle-class. The deaths of eminent persons are noted in order, with at least one capital omission—George Eliot. And should not Lord Ripon's remarkable viceroyalty of India have had a sentence?

In these days of growing carelessness in the spelling of proper names, it is a pleasure to be able to congratulate Mr. Gretton on his care in such matters; but a few slips should be corrected in the next edition (for example, *Lord Leighton* and Professor *Silvanus Thompson*). The lists of the ministries at the end of the volume are not quite accurate. Henry Fawcett's name does not appear, and the name of A. J. Mundella is printed in two different forms. On page 192 the substitution of 1886 for 1880 makes nonsense of a sentence referring to the inclusion of Dilke and Chamberlain in the Gladstone ministry.

Finally, there is no index—a circumstance too flagitious for comment.

S.K.R.

#### AN ITALIAN SOCIOLOGIST.

SOCIOLOGIA: GENESI ED EVOLUZIONE DEI FENOMENI SOCIALI. By Professor Francesco Cosentini. With an Introduction by Professor Morselli. Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1912.

In this long and important work, Professor Cosentini gives us a view of the field of Sociology, analysed under various heads, Primitive Society, the Family, Property, Religion, Morality, Law Civil and Criminal, the State, Art, and the Intellectual Evolution. It is a task for which his vast knowledge of the work of modern sociologists renders him peculiarly fitted, and the long bibliographies appended to the chapters are in themselves a monument of his learning and research. He has great skill in summarising all that is known on a particular subject, as, for instance, in his account of the light thrown on the progress of prehistoric Man by the traces found in the series of geologic epochs. So, too, his handling of some controverted theories, such as Lombroso's on Criminality and Trombetti's on the supposed original unity of human speech is a model of effectiveness and candour. Lombroso's hypothesis of the connection between criminality and certain physical characteristics, such as pointed ears, is first expounded in its utmost strength and then refuted finally and completely. On one point that has led to some confusion among sociologists, the distinction between Society, the State, and the Nation, he is perfectly clear; as regards the latter he finds the essential element in the community of traditions, needs, and aspirations. In the definition of crimes, he is less successful, and the long discussion often verges on the metaphysical. In the same chapter, he expresses the hope that it will be possible to judge how far criminal tendencies are hereditary by following the careers of the children of criminals separated from their wicked parents in public institutions. He forgets that new elements are introduced into the problem, and ignores the weakening of the affections in those brought up without a mother's care, and the moral dangers that arise when those who have been reared in the artificial atmosphere of institutional life, find themselves plunged into the world outside. There is also some confusion as to whether certain developments of modern life are individualistic or not. Both from the time in which it originated and from its effects, the limitation of the power of bequest would seem to be individualistic. The author appears to take the

opposite view. On the other hand, he considers that science promotes individualism in thought. "In the cultivation of scientific truth each, as among the early Christians, can take part at will." But surely, as the Professor himself tells us elsewhere, each scientific enquirer depends on his predecessors and his fellow-workers and needs a far more rigorous training than ever did the Priests of Jupiter or any other deity; and is not the ultimate result of scientific inquiry to produce general agreement?

As regards methods, Professor Morselli in his introduction proposes to return to those of the creator of Sociology, Auguste Comte, while avoiding what he considers the exaggerated tendency to unification and systematisation of Comte and Spencer. In particular, both he and Professor Cosentini insist on the necessity of considering Sociology as a separate science with its own means of investigation, and not merely as an extension of Biology. And in spite of the fear of systematisation, Professor Cosentini admits that facts are not enough. For the sociologist to confine himself to facts, is to condemn the science to remain merely descriptive. It must become genetic, and aim at a systematisation based on facts. Nevertheless he modestly declares that he confines himself to the study of concrete phenomena, leaving this work of systematisation to his successors. It is unnecessary to say that he does not reach the heights or rather descend to the depths of this self-denying ordinance. He, of necessity, cannot refrain from some attempts to bring his facts into order and relation; and his last and longest chapter deals with the Future of Society. Now every attempt at a forecast must be based on some generalisation or at least colligation of facts—the greatest enemy of system would not venture to foretell the future course of society from unconnected instances. There are, however, two other difficulties in Professor Cosentini's method which much diminish the value of this concluding chapter. He sets out to study the future in the present, and to deduce the coming state of institutions from their present tendencies. It was such a method that led Buckle, writing in 1859, to foretell the complete triumph of individualism, as it leads Cosentini now to predict the triumph of socialism. It is only by studying the past as well as the present that we can gauge the strength and permanence of present tendencies. And there is another consideration that Professor Cosentini ignores. Institutions do not develop separately. They form part of a whole, and their development must harmonise with that of the Society of which they form an element. Therefore, we must have a general theory of history, we must foretell the general outlines of Society in the future, before we can estimate the position therein of particular institutions.

S. H. SWINNY.

#### AN EXPOSITION OF NIETZSCHE.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NIETZSCHE: An Exposition and an Appreciation.

By Georges Chatterton-Hill, Ph.D. London: John Ouseley, 1911.

Pp. 292. 7/6 net.

THAT Nietzsche's philosophy should be explained and rendered "available for the general reader" is something of a contradiction, and would hardly, one thinks, be approved by Nietzsche himself; for was not contempt for the common herd the *leit motif* of his philosophy, and was it not his proud boast that his doctrine must remain esoteric? Nevertheless Nietzsche's influence is widespread, and by its effect on other philosophers and writers has penetrated to the multitude whom he despised, too many of whom, it is to be feared, know Nietzsche only as "the mad philosopher" and his doctrine of *Uebermensch* only in a Shavian travesty. If such be the case

this book may be found useful in dispelling much misunderstanding and in preparing the way for a juster appreciation of a brilliant if erratic philosopher. Dr. Chatterton-Hill writes from an admittedly sympathetic standpoint, and there is more need for this in the case of Nietzsche than in that of any other philosopher. It is almost impossible to do Nietzsche justice without some degree of sympathy with his outlook; his aim was to "transvalue all values," to destroy utterly all that had gone before and to create anew a system of "master-morality" diametrically opposed to the ideals of Christianity which Nietzsche condemns as fit only for slaves and cowards. The fierceness of his denunciations is so extreme as to leave unmoved those who do not share, at least to some extent, in his scorn of civilization and the Christianity upon which it is built, and in his joy in the vision of the Over-Man. The book is divided into two parts, Book I dealing with Nietzsche's Critical Philosophy, and Book II with the Positive Philosophy of the *Wille zur Macht*. A short sketch of the philosopher's life is given in the opening chapter, for, as Dr. Chatterton-Hill points out, the personality of Nietzsche is intimately bound up with his philosophy. His relations with Wagner and Schopenhauer are fully dealt with and his rupture with both is shown to be an inevitable outcome of his philosophic development. The points of contact between Nietzsche and Max Stirner are clearly explained, but it is to be regretted that no reference is made to the French philosopher, Guyau, whose doctrine of the expansion of life—"life the most intensive and the most extensive possible"—bears a striking resemblance to Nietzsche's *Wille zur Macht* and is not a little instructive in its points of difference.

The fundamental doctrine of Nietzsche's philosophy is summed up by Dr. Chatterton-Hill as "the love of life, the affirmation of life in all its plenitude and power, of life unrestrained by any obstacles, expanding itself in force and in beauty." (p. 72). This expansion of life is based upon suffering and its beauty is founded upon tragedy, so that we are led to the conclusion that suffering is necessary; "it is indispensable, both as the inspirator of artistic creation, and as maintaining the vitality essential to that artistic creation, which is the result of a superabundance of life" (p. 64). Nietzsche's conception of life is the conception of an artist who delights in tragedy and suffering for its own sake. For Nietzsche, Dr. Chatterton-Hill insists, "art is the value of life; and that life alone is worth living which is a manifestation of art; and that life is a manifestation of art which is strong, which is powerful, which is rich in vitality, which is exuberant" (p. 65). From this follows, first, Nietzsche's attack on civilization and Christianity as fostering the weak by encouraging the "virtues" of humility, gentleness, sympathy and love—"slave-morality" in a word; secondly, his ideal of the Over-Man whose mission is to realise the great law of life—"live wholly, live fully,"—whose greatness is to be measured by his capacity to inflict the most intense suffering, whose final triumph is to be "the integral development of his personality" (p. 230). The meaning of this doctrine, the significance of the Over-Man as a "return to nature," and Nietzsche's attempt to represent the race of Over-Men as the ultimate justification of humanity, are made clearer by Dr. Chatterton-Hill's sympathetic and lucid exposition, but he is not successful in finding a logical basis for the doctrine of Egoism. Moreover, his evident sympathy does not blind him to the fundamental contradiction in Nietzsche's thought expressed in the conception of the Everlasting Return which, as he well points out, is "the crowning doctrine of the whole philosophy of the Over-Man" and which



"remains nevertheless unconvincing." Nor does he fail to see that the utility of truth cannot be regarded, as Nietzsche regards it, as an evidence of its falsity. The permanent value of Nietzsche's philosophy lies, Dr. Chatterton-Hill considers, in the rude awakening he has given us by calling us from the contemplation of a democratic Utilitarianism to a higher virility that glories in suffering and despises weakness and sums up its doctrine in the proposition: "Humanity, as a mass, sacrificed for the benefit of a single race of *strong men*—that is what would constitute a progress" (p. 196). It may well be that in its bitter antagonism to democracy Nietzsche's doctrine of the Over-Man is good for this age of sentimental humanitarianism, and, purged of its extravagances, it may prove a stepping-stone towards the realization of a nobler race of men. For a better understanding of the doctrine itself Dr. Chatterton-Hill's exposition is both useful and competent.

L. S. STEBBING.

#### RENASCENT RELIGION IN FRANCE.

L'ORIENTATION RELIGIEUSE DE LA FRANCE ACTUELLE. By Paul Sabatier.  
Bibliothèque du Mouvement Social Contemporain. Paris: Libraire  
Armand Colin. 3 fr. 50.

FROM time to time we have here to call attention to some new book dealing with this and that aspect of the rich and varied life of France, and interpreting it to our returning sympathies; but we remember none which so deeply merits the attention of the sociologist, or so helpfully rewards it, as this volume by M. Paul Sabatier. A long succession of French writers have accustomed us to expect masterly and sympathetic studies of a great field of social life and change. But this book contains more than comprehensive surveys, searching and sympathetic criticisms: it brings us more and more towards the conclusion indicated by its title—that instead of the mere lapse, bankruptcy, or defeat of religion in France, of which we have long heard so much and on so many sides, a new religious orientation is in progress. The active Anti-clericals with their apparently victorious policy; the active Clericals with their unconquerable resistance, here passive, there aggressive, and the great seemingly indifferent public, quietly taking its own way through life with little attention to either extreme party—these constitute the France which is all that most foreigners, and with them many Frenchmen, at present think of. But here comes the value and freshness of M. Sabatier's chapters. At the outset he clears up the difference between his terms—"orientation of religion" and "affairs of religion"; and in the latter between the essentially or merely ecclesiastical and the characteristically and essentially religious. In the religious field itself his interest lies in disentangling the fresh contacts with reality, the elements of a new or a nascent life, from the apparently falling fortunes of historic dogmas. Many theologians and philosophers, and yet more preachers and writers, are attempting this, and in other countries as well as France; but all the more these and their readers will be interested by M. Sabatier's lucid analysis of the respective positions of his own country and of the Protestant and Catholic traditions in Germany. The chapters outlining the history of French thought and feeling in matters religious since the Franco-German War, with its significance and effects, those on the Dreyfus case, and the pages discussing the qualities and defects of Catholics, Protestants and Anti-clericals, with their respective activities, are full of interest and freshness; though the chapters on moral education in the lay schools may perhaps somewhat pall upon the ordinary reader. The estimates of leading



biblical critics, religious psychologists and so forth will be found of interest: and above all to readers like those of this Review may be recommended the appreciation of Guyau, the early lost author of the admirable, if ill-named, *Irreligion de l'Avenir*, or of contemporary men of letters such as the producer of the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, M. Charles Peguy, still too little known among us, of artists such as Eugène Carrière, who are recognised as of no small religious significance; while illustrations (though, it may seem to us, too few to be quite convincing) are given of the general spirit and mood of the people, from the peasant to his mayor.

A writer so broad in sweep as M. Sabatier, so fair-minded and generously sympathetic, above all so full of idealism and hope, is himself truly religious: and since the observer most truly sees what he brings the power of seeing, even the most discouraged of us cannot but in some measure accept his confident witness that a like spirit is abroad throughout his land and among well-nigh all classes of his countrymen. Were there space here for our criticisms of M. Sabatier, he might in the main claim them as but strengthening his essential thesis. Yet it is surely a grave limitation of his book that the author gains so little value and so little result to his cause from positivism and sociology, from biology, indeed from each and all the sciences; while, again, the generous social idealism which in France has so peculiarly permeated even the most combative movements is not to our mind at all adequately realised. Thus we have not even a mention of the influences of such men as Reclus and Kropotkin, prophets and preachers, almost saints, as they have been and as we might have expected the historian of St. Francis of all men clearly to see. Such criticisms, however, as we have just said, can but support and illustrate the theme of the volume, with which we may also recommend its well-planned and ably executed series.

P.G.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT.

UNEMPLOYMENT, A SOCIAL STUDY. By B. Seeböhm Rowntree and Bruno Lasker. Macmillan, 1911. 5/- net.

THE basis of this very valuable inquiry into the causes of and remedies for unemployment was a survey of York in relation to unemployment made on June 7, 1910. On that and the two following days, sixty selected investigators called on every working-class house in York, to enquire what workers were employed on June 7. Excluding those out of work for other reasons, it was found that there were 1278 persons unemployed though capable of working, through inability to find employment. These were classed as

Youths under 19 years of age ... ..	129
Men who have lost regular employment and still seeking it	291
Casual workers unemployed on the particular day...	441
Workers in the building trades...	173
Work shy ... ..	105
Women and girls ... ..	139

As the population of York is 82,000, it is evident that these 1278, even when the "work shy" and the women and girls are excluded, represent a much larger proportion of the male manual workers of York than 3·7, which was the percentage published by the Labour Department of unemployment among Trade Unions giving unemployment benefit. The discrepancy apparently was partly due to York lagging somewhat behind the rest of

the country in the revival of trade which was then taking place; but the figures further indicate that in interpreting the Labour Department figures we must allow for the general level of urban unemployment being worse than the published figure.

The further investigation into the causes of unemployment showed "very clearly that it is quite a mistake to regard the unemployed problem as primarily one of character and efficiency of the workers. Of the men seeking regular work and unable to find it, and the casual workers not employed, about half were men of good character and physique, in the building trade the unemployed men as a whole were not markedly inferior to those in employment, and the majority of the women were of good character and physically capable. Among the unemployed lads, on the other hand, four-fifths had made a bad start in life." The reforms which Messrs. Rowntree and Lasker consider to be indicated by the results of their inquiry are:—

(1) Oversight of lads up to 19 years of age and their compulsory training when unemployed.

(2) Regulation of work given out by public bodies so as to mitigate cyclical and seasonal fluctuations in employment.

(3) Afforestation. York's share of relief if the proposals of the Royal Commission were carried out would be 100 men employed at the commencement, rising to 400.

(4) Decasualisation of casual labour through the Employment Exchanges is approved, but emphasis is laid upon the concurrent necessity for providing for the casuals who would be squeezed out.

(5) Insurance against unemployment must be regarded as only one of several measures necessary to lessen the hardships resulting from want of work.

(6) Special emphasis is laid upon a new proposal suggested to the authors by their recent study of Belgium, that such reforms in the transport, land and housing systems of the country should be carried out, as would enable urban workers to live in the country, and to command large gardens or allotments whereby they could live through a period of unemployment without enduring the misery and degradation at present involved.

All these measures are advocated, as tending to facilitate rather than retard wise legislative changes of a more comprehensive character."

The authors remark that "social conditions in the long run reflect the soul of a people." The impression is made very forcibly on the mind of the reader, by some of the individual cases which are fully stated, that the existing system of Poor relief, based as it is on the hasty and crude conclusions of immature economics, and fossilised in the grip of the most reactionary and inefficient of State departments, is responsible for innumerable atrocities in the homes of unfortunate but self-respecting workers.

G.S.

#### THE RURAL OUTLOOK.

THE AWAKENING OF ENGLAND. By F. E. Green. London: Nelson and Sons. 2/- net.

CHAPTERS IN RURAL PROGRESS. By Kenyon L. Butterfield. The University of Chicago Press. 4/- net.

THE first of these books goes the round of English rural life (glancing also across the two Channels) and restates its urgent problems. The writer is

farmer as well as arcadian evangelist and his descriptions are always alive. Those aspects of the country labourer's existence significant of mental stagnation and deformed social relationships are, unhappily, too familiar. It is in pointing to the new social groups beginning to prosper in the reclaimed lands round the Wash, and similar oases of hope and independence for the small cultivator, that Mr. Green relieves the sordidness of the general view. The accounts of these settlements show a new England in the making: fields brisk with healthy and well-paid labour, clean cheerful houses, and "a new race of country children."

The emphasis given to the woman's side of the question is one in which all students must agree. In regard to the detail of the cottage parlour, however, Mr. Green appears temporarily to lose sight of the woman's outlook; though in one passage relevant to the small-holder's wife, he surmises the domestic irritation which must follow a masculine "tramping in and out of the house all day with muddy boots." The cottage or house, with but one general living-room, belongs to the period when average persons all dipped their fingers into the same food bowl, rarely changed their clothes, and used the same bedroom or slept together on the rushes round the fire; for all of which habits there may have been excellent reasons of domestic and structural economy at the time. But nowadays it is useless to rail at the country-born woman's preference for the "hideous suburban villa." She does not look at the question from the standpoint of pictorial but of domestic art. To her the old thatched cottage means inconveniences and blackbeetles while socially it symbolises inferiority and patronage. If the brighter young women, and with them the more skilled men, are to remain in the country-side, then their housing accommodation must approximate to that of their town cousins and to the general fashion of the present day. It is not impossible to make a structural compromise by which the ugly externalism of the urban cottage-villa gives way to tiles and cream-washed walls, while its domestic advantages are retained. What is needed is to banish, not the parlour, but its wax-flowers, and to enlarge the living room by enlarging the ground-plan.

Mr. Green joins with those who strongly urge afforestation as an immediate national need, though it may be doubted whether, as he suggests, it can affect the general unemployment question. Men able and willing to dig and do rough work, week after week, are not likely to be among the unemployed. The gain in a fit hardy population which would follow an efficient scheme of afforestation would be a magnificent result, apart from the questions of unemployment, timber-supply, and watersheds. Whether from small-holding or afforestation the most profitable crop to the nation will be sturdy people inured to earning their livelihood manually and in the open.

To turn to the American book is to look into a rural world already in possession of ample industrial opportunities and social freedom. The object of "Chapters in Rural Progress" is to urge the United States farmer to get possession of his civic soul. He is pressed to leave the segregation of his class and to take part in the general life of the nation on equal terms with the townsman. Mr. Butterfield outlines a programme of reform and development by which this ideal should be approached. He does not urge that farm families should leave their present geographical isolation, holding that any attempt to make up villages by re-grouping would deprive farmers of the advantages of direct association with nature without giving in return anything but the social limitations of a hamlet. He places his reliance on

the extension of facilities for communication between farm and farm, on the development of "good wagon roads, telephones, rural mail delivery, and electric roads," and on a reorganisation of the school and church systems, by which they could become active transmitters of intellectual and social stimulus. Among the studies to fit the provincial minister to become able to play the part proposed, he prescribes for theological seminaries courses dealing with the farm problem and rural sociology. With church and school is to co-operate the omnipresent influence of "The Grange," a masonic institution for agriculturists, having for its chief dogma that "the farmer is of more consequence than the farm and should be first cultivated." The Grange puts women on equal terms with men in its membership, and has their active co-operation. The book is of interest in regard to some phases of the present state of rural life in the United States, and reveals in the farmers an American state of mind contrasting with that described by Zimmern in the lively account of his trans-Atlantic impressions contributed to the last number of this Review.

ERNEST BETHAM.

### THE FAMILY.

THE FAMILY IN ITS SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D. New York: Houghton Mifflin. 75 cents net, post paid.

ETHICS AND THE FAMILY. By W. F. Lofthouse. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912. 7/6 net.

ON account both of his own achievements and his connection with Dr. Lester Ward, one expects work of a high sociological value from Professor Dealey. This little book amply fulfils that expectation. It is an epitome of all the researches into the history of the family which have been made by scholars like Dr. Frazer and Professor Howard since Bachofen produced his epoch-making treatise on the matriarchate, and although it has only 134 pages it does not leave out of account a single important factor which has contributed to the making of the family either in ancient or modern times. It contains a particularly good study of the influence of the Church on family life, showing that when the Church was in process of supplanting ancestor-worship marriage was a family contract, that only when the Church was aggrandized into a religious empire did the contract become a sacrament and an ecclesiastical ceremony, and that at no time in the history of the Church has purely civil marriage been illegal. The failure of the mediæval Church to establish monogamy, prevent divorce, and set up a single standard of sex morality he attributes to the ignorance of human nature which led the priests to glorify celibacy. He does not blame them for refusing to adapt their ideals to the understanding of either decadent Roman or brutish barbarian. His opinion is that—

"The real charge against the Church should be that it suppressed knowledge and intelligence that if allowed to come to fruition would have made those ideals more real to men. The human intellect is the agency of social progress, and the suppression of it is high treason against society and the only real heresy and atheism among men."

It is on the spread of scientific information, chiefly by vocational education and the stimulation of inventiveness, that he would rely for the upbuilding of his ideal family, which would be at once "an economic band, a body politic, a nursery for religious aspiration, a school for the broader life of the world, and a home of co-operative activity." The intelligence of the people at large will eventually give rise, he thinks, to a strong public

opinion which, on the principle of social survival, will destroy the evils that are disintegrating the family. The method of destruction would consist not so much in direct attacks upon them, as in such regulation of the environmental factors that shape human character as tend of themselves to promote health, capability and happiness. Much of the wording is infelicitous. The value of the book as far as argument and statement go are no justification for the use of such expressions as "deep influence," "edible vegetation," "brought in conflict," "the work of civilization began to multiply," "communities engaged in grazing and farming."

Mr. LOFTHOUSE has put his main thesis into a chapter on "The Meaning of Goodness" which is an excellent piece of psychology. He there shows that goodness grows out of "that elementary and groping obedience to usage and traditional restrictions which stands for morality in primitive societies," and "is found wherever one savage draws near in clumsy trust or affection to another, or ignorantly and instinctively lays down his pleasure or his life for his friends." No definite distinction is made between altruism and egoism, because no normal man ever performs any act which has not been suggested to him or would not commend itself to some group of human beings, whether high or low in the evolutionary scale, to which he belongs or aspires to belong. There are two or three pages in the chapter that are particularly well worth study. They set forth how this "consciousness of kind" merges into an unconsciousness which is akin to that which the mystic glories in, and which determines for every member of every society what is right "here and now" and what actions are likely to bring about happiness or unhappiness.

As long as Mr. Lofthouse works on psychological ground his argument is convincing. But when he discusses the biological, economic, and religious foundations of the family it degenerates into argumentation. His biology is exceptionally weak. He apparently holds the "only man is vile" theory of man's relation to Nature; and he has discovered no evidence of warfare in her domain of a more serious or painful character than the squabbling of sparrows for crumbs. Further, he fails in quantitative thinking and reasoning. For instance, he states that century by century and decade by decade the break of the marriage bond has become progressively less common, and yet explains the recent huge increase in divorces by saying that these are only the public registration of an unknown number of virtual divorces which used to create much scandal before the law recognized them; and he proves that real wages are falling by quoting the following Local Government Board return:—Wages: 1850, 100 (index number); 1907, 181·7. Prices: 1850, 100; 1907, 103·9.

The book is intended primarily for Christians. To the sociologist quā sociologist some of the arguments will seem disingenuous. For example, on page 355 we are told that the gospel teachings with regard to divorce are equivocal because God did not intend to save statesmen the responsibility of thinking out divorce laws that would suit their own country; on page 320, that Christ "never pretends that goodness will keep a man out of loss or danger, though there is no other means of being either safe or free"; and on page 347 that the command to forsake all one's relatives in order to lead the religious life was not hostile to the family and was not addressed to all Christians indiscriminately.

M.E.R.



## PROBLEMS OF BOY LABOUR.

THE BOY AND HIS WORK. By the Rev. Spencer J. Gibb. Christian Social Union Handbooks. London: Mowbray, 1912. 2/- net.

CHILD LABOUR IN CITY STREETS. By Edward N. Clopper. New York: Macmillan, 1912. 5/6 net.

MR. SPENCER GIBB has written a most thoughtful book which attempts to solve many problems, and some of his solutions will appeal to nearly all modern educationists. For example, smaller classes, less instruction and more training, and a greater connection between schoolwork and after-life are improvements which are obviously needed in most schools and which before long will surely come. At present memory is trained mechanically and the proper assimilation of knowledge is to a great extent neglected, there is too little self-regulated discipline and scarcely any real appreciation of the usefulness of knowledge. But there are other questions dealt with in this book which present difficulties not so easily solved—When is the State, and when is the parent to have the casting vote with regard to the child's future? It is not a satisfactory statement to say that by taking charge of the child after school age the State is only continuing the care it has already bestowed; in educating a child we can hardly say that the State is undertaking a parent's duty, but the State's right to choose a child's future is a different matter. Again, who is to decide when a family is in real need of the children's earnings? What is luxury in a poor home, and what is necessity? Will the "official friend" be welcomed when she appears with her form? And, lastly, when we have driven the street seller from our thoroughfares are we quite sure that he is better employed at home? We have indicated a few of the questions about which Mr. Gibb gives us little help, but in many other directions his book throws useful light. The comparative merits of the Board of Trade and the Board of Education in dealing with juvenile labour are clearly shown, some excellent suggestions are made as to school exemption and the close connection between character and economics is also well insisted on. In the future, as Mr. Gibb suggests, the State may to a large extent assume the rights and obligations of a parent, but at present many will still feel that the State is better employed in further regulating the school environment and the condition of factories than in directly deciding the fate of each individual child.

It is interesting to learn from Mr. Clopper's frank and illuminating book that the problems which have arisen in connection with child labour in the United States are very similar to those which have appeared in England. Mr. Clopper states that parents should not insist on early earnings from their children, because such earnings are usually pitifully small and because a little unselfishness on the part of parents might result in larger earnings later on. We fear, however, that these arguments would scarcely appeal to those who have urgent present needs and little to meet them with. It is easy to argue that a State which educates its children should see that its children are in a fit state to be educated, but when we attempt to regulate home conditions we almost inevitably find ourselves involved in an inquisitorial system distasteful to the self-respecting individual, and, in the opinion of many, deteriorating to his character. Such regulations, however, as a higher minimum standard of housing, although presenting many difficulties, might in the future do much to help the child's home conditions. It seems probable that a great deal of what we call the work of the street-seller forms a kind of play, and, considering the alternatives, quite a whole-

some kind of play. To multiply legal offences seems scarcely wise, and to abolish street-selling without offering an alternative might do little good; even blind-alley professions are sometimes better opened up than suppressed. On the whole one feels that some more subtle force than law and regulation is required, and the system of juvenile self-government which is achieving such marked success in the United States is one of such forces. Mr. Clopper mentions several times the excellence of juvenile courts with boy judges, and these passages are amongst the most hopeful and suggestive in his book.

C.B.A.

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THE STANDARD OF VALUE. By Sir David Barbour. Macmillan, 1912.  
6/- net.

A WORK on the Standard of Value by Sir David Barbour commands the closest attention if only by reason of his intimate connection with the practical problems of currency reform during the last thirty years. Besides being a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver appointed in 1886, he was primarily responsible for the successful introduction of the gold standard in India. The book may be roughly divided into two parts, one dealing with the general problems connected with rising or falling prices and the other with the special case of India. Sir David Barbour is a stout champion of the quantity theory, which he defines as follows: "Other things being equal the level of prices is proportional to the quantity of money." He further defines money in this respect as being gold coins of full legal tender and uncoined gold intended to be used as money which could be coined at any moment. Not many people will be found to challenge the validity of this theory; possibly a growing number would question its importance. Sir David Barbour freely admits that "other things never are equal," and the significance of the theory therefore depends on the weight which must be attached to these other things. It would, for instance, be equally true to say that the speed of a train depends, other things equal, on the direction of the wind or any other single factor which by itself is of negligible weight. In the case of prices it is not difficult to show that 'other things' often exert a predominating influence and that they cannot be left simply to cancel out. Sir David Barbour, however, gives one very little idea of what he considers to be their relative importance, or when, if ever, they may be neglected in the practical consideration of a problem. On the question of credit Sir David Barbour again adopts an extreme attitude. He denies that credit money and gold have the same effect on prices. This is a statement which requires careful qualification. The greater influence of gold on prices is derived mainly, if not entirely, from its effect on credit. If the quantity of credit always had the same proportion to the quantity of gold this might be of little practical importance, but it is not so. The volume of credit is based more and more on the volume of goods and to a correspondingly less degree on gold. Taking McLeod's argument that the withdrawal of £100,000,000 of credit from the circulating medium would have a very slight effect on prices, Sir David Barbour remarks that the withdrawal of a much smaller sum of gold would cause the whole financial system to collapse. This would only be the case through its effect on credit. If we can imagine credit as remaining undisturbed the business of the country might go on as before, except perhaps for the introduction of £1 notes, although at a slightly lower level of average prices. It is impossible in the space of a short notice to refer to the many controversial

points raised in this book on the general theory of prices. The author does not profess to throw fresh light upon questions already dealt with in economic text-books. The general reader or man of business, to whom the book is addressed, will find the quantity theory set out in an easily intelligible and effective form. The latter part of the book deals with the special case of India, and this may be unreservedly recommended as the clearest exposition of the difficulties of Indian currency and the way in which they have been surmounted which has appeared. It involves a thorough understanding of the working of the foreign exchanges and the principles of international trade. It is quite unspoilt even for one who disagrees with them by the author's views on the quantity theory, with which it is of course associated. The introduction of the gold standard in India may seem ancient history; the bimetallic controversy is dead. But the discussion of them here is given in a way which is not only interesting in itself, but is full of significance for those who are interested in present-day problems connected with foreign trade and exchange.

E.T.S.

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THE LAWS OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. By G. B. Dibblee. Constable, 1912. 7/6.

MR. DIBBLEE begins by criticising the orthodox economic theories. These so-called laws of political economy seem correct, only when the meanings of the terms used are strained and the concomitant circumstances are ignored. Mr. Dibblee gives a handy table of his own suggested laws and definitions. For instance, he states his views of the law of final bargaining, the doctrine of alternative wants, the law of contracting facilities of production, the law of expanding facilities of production, the law of graduated returns on partial monopoly, the law of the stratification of demand, the law of secondary demand and so forth. These statements are valuable analyses of present economic facts, but are too long to summarise. The main point of Mr. Dibblee's book is the emphasis which he lays upon the importance of marketing. Of the final price of an article he would apportion one-third to the original cost of production and two-thirds to marketing and distribution. Price therefore does not approximate to the "cost of production." There is a constant tendency for goods to rush from shortages to gluts. This tendency is only counteracted by the efforts of private capitalist organisation, in the artificial manipulation of the market so as to attract buyers regularly or seasonally, and thus enable producers to make a fair and regular profit. Thus the flooding output of goods is dammed up, passed slowly through locks, and then distributed through a series of small streams. Our productive powers are so great to-day that marketing is the most difficult part of commerce, and therefore obtains the larger part of its rewards, and the financial and marketing towns are to-day predominant. At the same time the author admits that our selling mechanism is too costly and selling prices too high. There is too much deception and "graft" in trading operations, and to defend themselves consumers will also have to combine. Mr. Dibblee does not think that the State can ever be a good salesman, or can provide works for the unemployed. "The State, on the other hand, has to intervene to create or make possible values in cases where the utility is considerable and the bargaining power of the possessors is insufficient to secure their adequate reward." The following is his statement with regard to land: "Land is being gradually withdrawn in the most civilised countries from the sphere of private property, and the means

of transportation also are tending to come into the hands of municipalities and states." This is a stimulating and valuable book, but somewhat difficult and abstruse. J.A.F.

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THE CASE AGAINST FREE TRADE. By W. Cunningham, D.D. With a preface by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. John Murray. 2/6 net.

It should surely not have been necessary for a book on British fiscal policy by the historian of our industry and commerce to receive a recommendation from any politician or statesman, however eminent. Dr. Cunningham is entitled to a very respectful hearing, on his own merits, from adherents to any fiscal opinions. It is rather unfortunate that he should unnecessarily antagonise one section of his readers, as he does by his chapter on the injurious tactics of Free Traders:—"Cobden and the pioneers of Free Trade really had the public food at heart; . . . For the present Free Trade has been able to maintain itself by appeals to the passions and the greed of the electorate, and there is little sign that Free Traders are ashamed of having had recourse to such weapons." It is, of course, perfectly true that Free Traders have been apt to choose arguments rather because they appealed to the uninstructed multitude than because of their soundness; but the same is true of Protectionists; and one does not expect a writer as well trained in historical impartiality as Dr. Cunningham to suggest that one side has a monopoly of concern for the public good.

The book as a whole is a powerful indictment, not so much of the practical Free Trader, who is convinced, after a survey of the actual position, that Free Trade is, on the whole, the best policy for Great Britain at the present time, equally for the sake of these islands, of the Empire, and of all humanity, but of the academic devotee of *laissez faire*, who clings to Free Trade as one part of his fundamental principle. Hence the real arguments for Free Trade, the practical objections to a policy of protective duties, are left unanswered and unexamined; while probably the great majority of Free Traders heartily sympathise with Dr. Cunningham's plea "for order to be evolved out of chaos, for agreement to replace discord, for a consistent policy, adjusted to definite ends, in place of the haphazard play of blind and undirected forces."

On the whole the most important passage in the book is one on page 83, which appears to show that the original idea of Tariff Reform, that the self-governing colonies should refrain from forcing the development of manufactures competing with those of Britain by protective duties, has now been abandoned. "The Canadian will wish to develop manufactures on his own soil, and may tax British manufactures in order to give infant or struggling industries a fair chance." Imperial preference leading up to a system of intra Imperial Free Trade, with a tariff against the rest of the world, had its attractions. If, in future, "Tariff Reform" is to mean that the United Kingdom is to tax her imports of food and raw materials from foreign countries in the interests of her colonies, and yet to have her manufactures shut out of the colonial markets *in perpetuum*, it will need much more positive and convincing arguments than Dr. Cunningham uses to convert the British merchant or the British manufacturer. G.S.

**THE WHITE SLAVE MARKET.** By Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy and W. N. Willis. 2nd edition. Stanley Paul, 1912. 5/- net.

**A NEW CONSCIENCE AND AN ANCIENT EVIL.** By Jane Addams. New York : Macmillan Co., 1912. 4/6 net.

THESE two volumes mark the new tone that is being manifested in the study of an ancient question. True, Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy still betrays much of that "parental modesty" which the Bishop of London has so rightly regarded as one of the greatest hindrances to complete enlightenment, but she has at least made an effort to step across it, and her example will embolden others to even more effective purpose. She confines her study to the traffic for the markets of the East—Egypt, Burma, China and the East Indies, to which women are shipped from Europe and America whilst the authorities are practically powerless. Little is said about prostitution, but Mrs. Mackirdy is optimistic enough to declare that in five years, if we wished, the white slave traffic could be "absolutely, completely, and entirely" stopped. The condition "if we wished" begs the whole question. If the whole of humanity wished, of course, much less than five years would suffice; but as it is, we fear that in the three and twenty provisions advocated by her collaborator, Mr. Willis, it is overlooked that the drastic nature of some legislative proposals goes far to defeat their ends. Mr. Havelock Ellis in his recent work "Some Steps in Social Hygiene" gives examples of this.

Her natural scorn of the pimp, the procuress and the bludger leads Mrs. Mackirdy to ardent support of flogging the men on first conviction. Her emotional reaction is healthy as a prime factor in reform, and it is the more justifiable in the field to which she confines herself because of the youth and peculiar helplessness of the majority of the victims; but one misses in her work that deeper social criticism that leads Miss Addams to point out that "from the human as well as the economic standpoint there is an obligation resting upon the State to discover how many victims of the white slave traffic are the result of social neglect, remedial incapacity and the lack of industrial safeguards." . . . . Miss Addams reminds us that "Society also ventures to capitalize a virtuous girl at much less than one who has yielded to temptation," and quotes the report issued by the Vice-Commission of Chicago on this head :—

"It points out that the capitalized value of the average working girl is six thousand dollars, as she ordinarily earns six dollars a week, which is three hundred dollars a year, and five per cent. on that sum. A girl who sells drinks in a disreputable saloon, earning in commissions for herself twenty-one dollars a week, is capitalized at a value of twenty-two thousand dollars. The report further estimates that the average girl who enters an illicit life under a protector or manager is able to earn twenty-five dollars a week, representing a capital of twenty-six thousand dollars."

In other words, a girl in such a life "earns more than five times as much as she is worth as a factor in the social and industrial economy, where brains, intelligence, virtue, and womanly charm should bring a premium." Facts such as these indicate that flogging the pimp and bludger—to say nothing of the procuress—will not carry us far. It is for the community to enlighten the young as to the evil consequences of licence and to render the paths of virtue more attractive. That there is no reason for despair may



be deduced from the tremendous efforts required to keep up the supply of victims and maintain them in subjection. Were it not for alcohol, success would probably be far less. General Bingham, Police Commissioner of New York, says: "There is not enough depravity in human nature to keep alive this very large business. The immorality of women and the brutishness of men has to be persuaded, coaxed, and constantly stimulated in order to keep the social evil in its present state of business prosperity." A wise community need not trouble to concentrate on punishing the ghouls that find treasure in its scrap-heaps: it would cease to fling its jewels away. So doing, even the ghouls might not be able to exist as such.

F.M.

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**WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.** By Scott Nearing, Ph.D., and Nellie Nearing, M.A. Macmillan, 1912. 6/6 net.

THIS is an unequal book, including an interesting and valuable survey of the economic, social, and occupational position of the American woman, but defaced by various rather cheap gibes and sneers at man, which might surely be left to feminist literature of the more irresponsible type. The brief account of the industrial revolution in chapter xxv is good. The antiquity of women's work in textile industries, the influence of machinery, and the difficult problems introduced by the factory system, especially in relation to the girl-worker, are appreciated. The authors do not demand an absolutely unrestricted field for women, and they frankly admit that not only occupations demanding great strength, but those needing a lengthy apprenticeship, had best be left to men. Freedom to compete with men in forging steel or driving engines, is, we may agree, less important than better training in the occupations in which women have some chance of excelling, and the invaluable education afforded by organisation and association. The authors hope great things from the emancipation of women in the widened opportunity for moulding social life and ideals that will thus be afforded.

"Never was industry calling more loudly for efficiency than it calls to-day. . . . Every woman should, before she marries, or immediately afterward, come in contact with the active world because of the breadth of view such a contact affords. . . . There are two alternative occupations open to women,—first motherhood, and second, some form of constructive pursuit, usually industrial. Neither occupation is exclusive of the other, and most women should at different periods of their lives engage in both of them. Motherhood, whether viewed from the standpoint of society or of the woman personally, is by far the more important occupation of the two." But "home life is narrowing . . . and even education is not effective in the development of character unless it is applied in the form of some positive occupation. . . . The woman who spends her life in the same 'social set' atrophies. Furthermore, society needs the active, efficient co-operation of every member if its highest welfare is to be assured:" (pp. 275—278).

These extracts will serve to shew the authors' viewpoint, as they would probably call it. While somewhat slapdash, hasty, and diffuse the book is marked by a breadth and sanity of outlook, and a consoling faith in human nature and in the future of the race. The portions relating to the present state of women's education and occupations in the States, so far as a foreigner can judge, are probably the best.

B.L.H.

WOMAN AND TO-MORROW. By W. L. George. London: Herbert Jenkins.  
3/6 net.

MR. GEORGE possesses an intellectual quality which enables him to detect the weak spot in the arguments of one school of eugenic writers. He perceives that the domestic life to which women are urged to return has ceased to exist. In the Middle Ages the wife had to grind the corn and bake the bread, tend the dairy and doctor her household, spin her wool and weave her cloth, and prepare all her food-stuffs from the beginning. But time has taken from her this life of varied and interesting toil. It is the industrial revolution not the higher education of girls that has wrecked the home. The wife has left to her nothing but the care of her usually small family. If she be a rich woman she is in the position of the manager of an over-staffed hotel beset with frittering duties that break her power of concentration but which do not exhaust her energies: these overflow into the sterile creations of fashion and luxury. If she be a poor woman she is an amateur at war with circumstance: her chief duties consist of keeping her children clean in a dirty house with an inadequate water-supply and to nourish them on cheap and adulterated food cooked on an ill-designed kitchen-range that eats up expensive fuel. There is a national tragedy of tired and bored womanhood behind the prevalence of 'industrial drinking' among housewives, and Mr. George shows himself worthy of consideration as a serious sociologist in recognising it. For the rest his book is an enthusiastic and partisan account of the probable effects of the complete social and political emancipation of women, not the less readable because of his ordinate appetite for epigram and generalisation. And there is a virility in his ideal of the perfect State built by the co-operation of egoists too proud to be privileged or incompetent, too luxurious to allow meanness or poverty to defile the earth.

R.W.

PSYCHOLOGY: A New System. By Arthur Lynch, M.A., C.E., I.R.C.P.,  
M.R.C.S.E., M.P. Stephen Swift. 2 vols., 21/- net.

HAVING contemplated, for many years, "the unlimited domain of knowledge, the scope entire of thought or mental experience in any form," Colonel Lynch has come to the conclusion that there are twelve organizing processes at work in every act of the mind. To these he gives the following names:—Immediate Presentation, Conception of Unit, Memory, Association, Agreement, Generalization, Feeling of Effort, Impulse, Hedonic Sense, Sense of Negation, Conception of Time, Conception of Space. He then proceeds to show how they realize themselves in the mental operations that are employed in the study of a great variety of sciences, pure and applied; and remarking that "it may be an advantage in regard to the prosecution of any given study to have limitations of taste and aptitude for all that might prove of the nature of distraction," enters with gusto into the technique of mathematics and physics, chemistry and electricity, bacteriology and embryology and many other branches of knowledge, to the entire neglect of his fundamental processes. This procedure is the more remarkable because he gives considerable prominence to the truth, that all the reasoning by which we arrive at generalizations is based on the limits that we are obliged to put to the process of discrimination and analysis. Assuredly if we have to discriminate between the actions of the mind which are brought into play when we are studying fifty different sciences, we shall never form any general notions in psychology at all. The book is ineffective because the writer is not content to illustrate the working of "the

fundamental processes " in a single field of scientific thought. It is none the less interesting, however, on this account. It is a pantology rather than a text-book of psychology, but it could have been produced only by a thinker of remarkable mental power and an almost unlimited capacity for acquiring knowledge; and readers will pronounce it a notable achievement, even if they find it perplexing and misleading. M.E.R.

MEDICAL BENEFIT IN GERMANY AND DENMARK. By I. G. Gibbon, B.A., D.Sc. P. S. King, 1912. 6/- net.

THIS volume was badly wanted eighteen months ago, but its publication is even now not too late to be of value as a means of directing attention upon certain aspects of the English Insurance Act. There is no need to accept the author's conclusions—as, for example, his advocacy of direct agreement between the doctors and approved societies, with the main control of the medical service under the doctors' organisations. That is indeed a great acceptance of one form of syndicalist proposal which would require stronger argument than the author adduces before it could command general approval. Dr. Gibbon's remarks on the dangers of valetudinarianism demand consideration, and should British experience follow the German lead, possibly the remedy he suggests—that of obtaining from each insured person a special contribution from his own pocket for a small part of the cost of medical service and medical and surgical requirements—might prove effective. Dr. Gibbon contrasts the working of voluntary insurance in Denmark with compulsory insurance in Germany, with no very definite results. But the book is a mine of information on the subject of medical benefit in the two countries, with facts and statistics clearly arranged and principles briefly formulated so that no one interested in the Insurance Act in this country but can gain from its perusal, however he may disagree with the standpoint adopted by the author.

F.M.

A HISTORY OF DIVORCE. By S. B. Kitchin. Chapman and Hall, 1912. 7/6 net.

TO survey in one short volume the history of Divorce from Jewish times to the present day may seem hardly practicable, but the Roman law and the Canon law give the story such continuity as to make the task quite manageable, and Mr. Kitchin's volume is very clear and, despite a certain tendency to rhetoric, very compact. He has written an extremely interesting book upon one of the most interesting of socio-legal questions, a book at once scholarly and propagandist. Mr. Kitchin is all for the restoration of the principle, which lies at the root of Jewish and Roman law, that divorce is primarily an affair of the parties married and therefore that divorce by mutual consent should be the central feature of any sane divorce law. He insists, after Pothier, that the Canon law made marriage indissoluble in order that the Pope might obtain exclusive jurisdiction over it, and the ensuing profits; and he shows that in effect the multiplication of very profitable legal fictions by the Canon law made divorce an easier thing in Catholic than in Protestant England. Mr. Kitchin lets one see how very much of an historical accident English divorce law has been since the Reformation and how it was never intended or imagined that the Divorce Act of 1857 should be the last word of the English state. His book is a serviceable companion to the report of the Royal Commission, and is certain to make opinion in the controversy which the report has raised.

H.S.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION. By G. R. Porter. A completely new edition, revised and brought up to date by F. W. Hirst. Methuen, 1912. 21/- net.

IN the three-quarters of a century since Porter first brought out his survey of the progress of the nation, in its various social and economic relations from the beginning of the nineteenth century, Great Britain has undergone a development unlike anything of which human history has any record. Consequently this new edition of a classic work of reference, prepared by the Editor of the *Economist*, presents an altogether different world from that with which Porter had to deal. The book was begun, says Mr. Hirst, before the modern passion for government statistics had been developed or catered for, but Porter had excellent sources of information so far as information was then available. To-day the material is overwhelming in amount, so that the editor's task has been one of great difficulty in selection and compression. The new survey is in thirty-eight chapters and fills an admirably compact volume of some 700 pages. It covers all the principal trades, industries, and branches of commerce, population, education, pauperism and crime, local government, housing, taxation, public revenue and expenditure, and indeed all the main economic facts of British society. An excellent index adds to the value of a book which for years to come will be in constant use by students and journalists and public men.

WITHIN : THOUGHTS DURING CONVALESCENCE. By Sir Francis Younghusband. London : Williams and Norgate. 3/6 net.

RATHER more than a year ago Sir Francis Younghusband, who had passed unscathed through perilous adventures without number in Asia and Africa, narrowly escaped a violent death amid the elaborate securities of European civilisation. He was run over by a motor-car in Belgium and most dangerously injured. The accident involved surgical treatment and a long spell of convalescence, during which Sir Francis's mind turned, as it could hardly help doing, to a consideration of the mystery of suffering, its place in the scheme of life, its ethical and philosophic significance. The thoughts thereby engendered make up this little book, which is written in a direct and graphic style and will appeal to many readers as a characteristic utterance of the modern mind confronted with the most ancient of spiritual problems.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH POST OFFICE. By J. C. Hemmeon, Ph.D. London : Henry Frowde, 1912. 8/6 net.

THE British Post Office has had its English historians, but the fact in no way diminishes the interest of an account and criticism of this famous institution written from the American standpoint. Dr. Hemmeon devotes five chapters to the service before the coming of the penny post in 1840, describing not only its political and financial, but also its human and social sides—the roads and resthouses and other accompaniments of the pre-railway epoch. His chapters on the telegraph system and the relations between the Post Office and the telephone companies touch matters of still vigorous controversy. "Thanks," says Dr. Hemmeon, "to the magnificent net revenue obtained from letters in the United Kingdom, the department has been able to lose a good deal of money by the extension of its activities into the realms of affairs not purely postal." The bibliography is not very extensive. The book has been published from the income of the William H. Baldwin, Jr. 1885 Fund, in America by Harvard University.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

## FRENCH.

Every sociologist ought to read *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE* for November, and so ought every politician and every social worker who would avoid putting incorrect interpretations on what he observes. It is a *Cours de méthode de science sociale* which is so admirably clear, that it would serve as a text-book of applied logic for many a student who has struggled to understand his college manuals on the subject in vain. The writer, M. Paul Descamps, defines social science as the study of the phenomena that are due to the association of human beings one with another in any kind of group, and phenomena as determinable changes within the realm of nature. Advising the investigator to adopt the procedure of Le Play and the nomenclature of Henri de Tourville, he recommends a process of "experimental reasoning," which consists in observation followed by theorizing and verification leading to the discovery of those facts that occasion the most numerous and most important repercussions. The greatest number of characteristic reactions which take place in any group are to be discovered, he says, in the daily life of a working-class family pursuing an industry which is essential to the existence of the group. His method brings into use both creative imagination and critical reason. These gifts in combination may be rare; but even the most muddle-headed student could acquire sufficient power of both sorts to understand social phenomena by learning from M. Descamps how to check theory by fact and fact by theory.

The perspicuity both of style and thought which is characteristic of this publication sometimes makes it commonplace. This fault has not been avoided in the October issue, in which M. Paul Rousiers discusses *La Formation de l'élite dans la société moderne*. His article is a plea for more capable and more numerous entrepreneurs and initiators in every trade and profession. He shows that brain power is becoming more and more important in the struggle for a livelihood, but does not give any eugenic valuation of the actual population such as Mr. and Mrs. Whetham have made, for this country, in many an able, if one-sided, study of hereditary capabilities.

In the October issue of the *REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE*, the President of the International Institute makes a timely protest against the neglect of deductive reasoning on the part of the numerous empiricists who identify it with mediæval ratiocinations founded on fancies. He compares a scientific problem to a rugged mountain which can be scaled easily from one point only. Having discovered that point the man of science may find that the road to the summit is indirect, but is the only one that offers neither difficulties nor dangers. The President mentions the law of diminishing returns by way of illustrating the use of the indirect method of research. He argues that the validity of that law can be deduced from the simple fact that in densely-populated countries unproductive soil is brought under cultivation, and that the hundreds of instances by which Professor Waterstradt would prove its invalidity represent errors of observation due to the multiplicity of the facts under examination. Discoursing on poetry and music, M. Chauffard supports the Spencerian theory that these originated not in religious and utilitarian exercises like those of dancing



and the recitation of epics, but in the primitive and fundamental need for the expression of emotion for which such art-forms furnish a useful embodiment. He expresses the opinion that age and civilization bring with them a consciousness of 'the riddle old that mocks, bewilders and defies,' which destroys the primal delight in melody and poetry. Civilized folk elaborate their dreams and ideals in the harmonies of music. "It is the man of culture, the citizen, the adult who dreams; not the savage, the peasant and the child."

The November issue contains a few notes on the unfortunate Congress of the International Institute of Sociology which was put off from October 1911 to Easter 1912 by the outbreak of cholera in Italy, and from Easter to October by the war with Turkey. In spite of these discouragements the members took part in the proceedings in greater numbers than ever, and their contributions gave brilliant evidence of the success of the method of study which kept them at work on a single subject (Progress) during the whole of the 1910-11 session, and then made that subject the theme of the Congress. The debaters appear to have reached one outstanding conclusion unanimously—that more and more political progress is bound to favour democracy on a firm basis of popular education. The next international meeting will take place at Vienna in 1915, and the topic will be "authority and the social hierarchy." The same number contains an article on Alsace-Lorraine by the late M. Novicow, setting forth his characteristic doctrines that no nation to-day derives any benefit from its conquests, and that the best way in which any one people can realize prosperity is that of promoting the good of every other people. One's fears that these arguments were dictated by generosity rather than acumen are confirmed on page 778, where one reads that the wrongs of the two conquered provinces diminish the well-being of the Germans and of all the folks not only of Europe, but of the whole world. M. Camille Schmitz, commenting on the hideousities of the Autumn Salon, declares that aristocracy is more favourable to art than democracy, that the present-day artists make fashions the basis of their work rather than the spirit of the age, and that the distractions of modern life have robbed them of the genius of contemplation.

The monographs of *LE MUSÉE SOCIAL* for November, October, and September deal, respectively, with town-planning, trade unions in the Netherlands and the societies in Sweden that correspond to our Home Arts and Industries Association and Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. The principal difference between the Swedish and the British associations is that the former receive support from the government. The differences that obtain between trade unions in Great Britain and in the Netherlands appear to be conditioned by the fact that in the latter country agriculture and commerce are still of more importance than manufactures, and that it has not yet become impossible to earn a livelihood by employing a small capital in a private business. From the town-planning treatise English folk will be glad to learn that the work of their hygiene committees is done with absolute regularity, and absolute disregard of such political interests as do not harmonize with those of the public in sanitary matters.

#### GERMAN.

The new theory of the psychologist that instincts and sub-conscious processes are a divine mechanism for securing the well-being of animals,

human and otherwise, and that no meddling questions must be asked about them, has no supporter in Dr. Walter Claassen, who much bewails the dietary habits of the Germans in the third issue of the *ARCHIV FÜR RASSEN- U. GESELLSCHAFTS-BIOLOGIE* for 1912. He attributes the over-consumption of fat which is one of the worst regimina of his countrymen to beer-drinking in the cities, and to pig-keeping and imitation of town customs in the villages. He states that it is no more an economic or a social than it is a physiological necessity. Dr. Agnes Bluhm writes a paper on the fertility of German women and the value of obstetrics from the standpoint of race-hygiene. She sums up the truth which her data lead her to formulate in a neat sentence from Dr. Schallmayer's book, "The Political and Sociological Significance of Heredity and Selection":—"The more successful maieutic surgery becomes, the more will future generations require it." Dr. Hans Roemer contributes a public-spirited article, *Über psychiatrische Erblichkeitsforschung* that forms a refreshing contrast to the professionalism that narrows the views of so many doctors of medicine. He pleads for the formation of a national institution and a public register for securing a complete history, personal and ancestral, of every case of mental disease in every province. He mentions the beginnings that have been made in this direction by the Genealogical Institute at Leipzig, to which a biological department was added last year, and by Drs. Ploetz, Gruber and others, who have gathered round them a group of botanists, zoologists, anthropologists, physicians, hygienists, economists, statisticians, sociologists, phychologists and historians to make a co-operative effort to find out the causes of mental weakness. He closes the article with a word of praise for the Eugenics Education Society.

Vaihinger's *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*, which was written thirty years ago, is the subject of a review by K. F. Wize in the July number of the *VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE PHILOSOPHIE UND SOZIOLOGIE*. The article affords striking evidence of the change in the interpretation of truth which has been brought about by such philosophies as James's pragmatism, Poincaré's relativism and Baldwin's instrumentalism. No one to-day looks upon any philosophy, even his own, as an eternal verity; and everyone recognizes the value of imaginations and guesses as guides to science. This fluidity of public opinion has led Lange to call Vaihinger's work a corner-stone in the palace of philosophy; and Wize has adopted the expression more than once in the course of his exposition. One gathers from this that the chief utility of the book lies in the clear distinctions which it makes between the kinds of truth at which one arrives through various mental operations and states such as doubt and conviction, feeling and intuition, calculation and assumption. A salient conclusion to which the comparisons give rise is the Platonic one, that philosophy might rank with mathematics as an exact science if the philosopher would take it less seriously, and acknowledge the fictivity of its subject-matter as frankly as mathematicians acknowledge the conventionality of the facts with which they work. In the same number Mr. Richard Horn discourses on psychic causality, and Friedrich Kuntze on historical philosophy compared with nature philosophy.

Also received:—*L'Action Nationale* (October, November, December); *Revue de métaphysique et de morale* (September, November); *Le Musée Social*, *Annales* (September, October, November); *Bulletin de la statistique générale de la France* (October).  
M.E.R.

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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THE meetings of the Session 1912-13 began on October 15 (evening) with a lecture by Professor Geddes on "Mythology and Life: an interpretation of Olympus"; Mr. P. J. Hartog in the chair. An abstract of the lecture is published in this number.

On October 29, at an evening meeting, Dr. F. W. Mott, F.R.S., read the paper on "Is Insanity on the Increase?" published in this number. Sir Edward Brabrook was in the chair.

On November 12, at an afternoon meeting, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy read a paper on "Sati: a vindication of the Indian Woman." Sir Francis Younghusband was in the chair. The paper will be published in the April number of the *Sociological Review*.

On November 26, at an afternoon meeting held in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Albemarle Street, Miss B. L. Hutchins read the paper on "Fatigue and Efficiency" which appears in this number. The Right Hon. Sir William Mather was in the chair.

Mr. F. G. D'Aeth being unable, through illness, to fulfil his engagement for December 10 (evening), his place was taken at short notice by Mr. Godfrey Blount, who read a paper on "A Footnote to the History of the Eighteenth Century"; Mr. S. H. Swinny being in the chair. The paper, which was illustrated with the lantern, contained a statement and interpretation of the results of Mr. Blount's inquiries into a little known department of peasant art—the sculptured tombstones common in England in the eighteenth century. The lecturer's investigations, so far confined to some of the churchyards in Sussex and Dorset, lead to the conclusion that the carved stones now existing do not go back beyond the year 1700 and that the designs, after a period of noteworthy development up to and a little beyond the middle of the century, show a rapid decline into unreal sentiment and imagery after 1770.

The date of the Annual General Meeting will be announced later.

### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY GROUP.

The Social Psychology Group meets regularly on the first Tuesday of the month, in the Rooms of the Sociological Society, 21 Buckingham Street, under the chairmanship of Professor William Brown, of King's College University of London. Members of the Sociological Society are invited to join. The next meeting will be on February 4 (5-15), when Professor J. Brough will open a discussion on "Psychology as a Qualification for Social Life and Work." Tea is served at 4-45.

### FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

THE following meetings have been arranged for the second part of the Session:—

Tuesday, January 28 (8-15). Sir J. George Scott: "The Position of Women in Burma"; Sir Frederic Fryer, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, in the chair.

Tuesday, February 11 (5-15). Mr. H. W. V. Temperley: "Federalism"; the Earl of Dunraven in the chair.

MONDAY, February 24 (8-15). Mr. Maurice S. Thompson: "Economic and Social Conditions in the Southern Balkans." This meeting will be held in Clifford's Inn Hall.

Tuesday, March 11 (5-15). Mr. Norman Angell: "The Foundations of International Polity"; Sir Frederick Pollock in the chair.

THURSDAY, April 10 (5-15). Monsieur Paul Sabatier: "Les Courants nouveaux de la Pensée française."

Tuesday, April 22 (8-15). Mr. A. E. Crawley: "The Unconscious Reason in Social Evolution."

Tuesday, May 20 (8-15). Dr. W. H. R. Rivers: "Survivals in Sociology."

The meetings are held, unless otherwise stated, in the hall of the Royal Society of Arts, Adelphi. The afternoon meetings are preceded by tea at 4-45.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "The Year Book of Social Progress for 1912." Nelson. 2/- net.
- Tawney, R. H. "The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century." Longmans. 9/- net.
- Lloyd, R. E. "The Growth of Groups in the Animal Kingdom." Longmans. 5/- net.
- Iyer, L. K. Anantha Krishna. "The Cochin Tribes and Castes." 2 vols. Illustrated. London: Luzao; Madras: Higginbotham. 1909. 32/-.
- Hose, Chas., and McDougall, W. "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo." 2 vols. Macmillan. 42/- net.
- De Pratz, Claire. "France from Within." Hodder and Stoughton. 10/6 net.
- Gibbon, I. G. "Medical Benefit in Germany and Denmark." P. S. King. 6/- net.
- Ogg, F. A. "Social Progress in Contemporary Europe." New York: Macmillan. 6/6 net.
- English History Source Books. "A Constitution in the Making (1660—1714)." G. B. Perrett. "Puritanism and Liberty (1603—1660)." Kenneth Bell. Bell and Sons. 1/- each net.
- Gretton, R. H. "A Modern History of the English People, 1880—1898." Vol. I. Grant Richards. 7/6 net.
- Sarolea, C. "The Anglo-German Problem." Edinburgh: Nelson. 2/- net.
- Bligh, Stanley M. "The Ability to Converse." Oxford: University Press. 2/- net.
- Lee, Vernon. "Vital Lies." 2 vols. John Lane. 10/- net.
- Hill, G. Chatterton. "The Philosophy of Nietzsche." Ouseley. 7/6 net.
- Hill, G. Chatterton. "The Sociological Value of Christianity." Black. 7/6 net.
- Ellwood, Chas. A. "Sociology in its Psychological Aspects." New York and London: Appleton.
- Bosanquet, Bernard. "The Value and Destiny of the Individual." The Gifford Lectures for 1912. Macmillan. 1913. 10/- net.
- Faulds, Dr. H. "Dactylography." Halifax: Milner and Co. 1/- net.
- Clopper, E. N. "Child Labor in City Streets." New York: Macmillan. 5/6 net.
- Atlanta University Publications: No. 16. "The Common School and the Negro American." Atlanta University Press. 1911. 75 cents.
- "Essays on Duty and Discipline: A Series of Papers on the Training of Children in relation to Social and National Welfare." Cassell. 3/-.
- Cadbury, Edward. "Experiments in Industrial Organization." Longmans. 5/- net.
- Reason, Will. "Ten Minutes Talks to Boys and Girls." Robert Scott. 2/- net.
- Gibb, S. J. "The Boy and His Work." Christian Social Union Handbooks. Mowbray. 2/- net.
- Vaughan, Father Bernard. "Socialism from the Christian Standpoint." New York: Macmillan. 6/6 net.



- Hughan, J. W. "American Socialism of the Present Day." London and New York: John Lane. 10/- net.
- Ross, E. A. "Changing America: Studies in Contemporary Society." Fisher Unwin. 6/6 net.
- Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. No. 1. "Recent Administration in Virginia." F. A. Magruder. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Birmingham Studies in Social Economics. I. "Environment and Efficiency." Mary H. Thomson. II. "The Public Feeding of Elementary School Children." Phyllis D. Winder. III. "The Social Policy of Bismarck." Annie Ashley. London: Longmans. 2/- each.
- Pigou, A. C. "Wealth and Welfare." Macmillan. 10/- net.
- Ashley, W. J. "Gold and Prices." Longmans. 1/- net.
- Troeltsch, E. (translated by W. Montgomery). "Protestantism and Progress." Williams and Norgate. 3/6 net.
- Re-Bartlett, Lucy. "Sex and Sanctity." Longmans. 2/6 net.
- Foerster, F. W. (translated by Meyrick Booth). "Marriage and the Sex Problem." Wells Gardner and Co. 5/- net.
- George, W. L. "Woman and To-morrow." H. Jenkins. 2/6 net.
- Taylor, Dr. J. Lionel. "The Nature of Woman." Fifield. 3/6 net.
- Schuster, E. J. "The Wife in Ancient and Modern Times." Williams and Norgate. 4/6 net.
- Willis, W. N. "The White Slaves of London." Stanley Paul. 1/- net.
- Sylvestre, M. "The Light-Bearers." John Long. 6/-.
- Sp. C. Haret. "Mécanique Sociale." Paris and Budapest: Gauthier-Villars and Ch. Göbl. 1910. 5 francs.
- Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale. XXVII. "Philosophie des Sciences Sociales. I. Objet des Sciences Sociales." 2nd edition. Paris: Giard et Brière. 1913. 4 and 6 francs.
- Caullet, Paul. "Eléments de Sociologie." Paris: Riviére. 1913. 7 francs.
- Levy, Hermann. "Die Grundlagen des ökonomischen Liberalismus in der Geschichte der Englischen Volkswirtschaft." Jena: G. Fischer. M. 3.50.
- Festskrift Tillegnad Edward Westermarck den 20 Nov. 1912. Helsingfors: J. Simelii Arvingars. 6/-.
- Portuondo y Barcelo, Antonio. "Apuntes sobre Mecánica Social." Madrid.

## PAMPHLETS.

- "The Minority Report of the Divorce Commission." Longmans. 1d.
- "Social Therapeutics." Stanley M. Bligh. Frowde. 6d. net.